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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**

88706



Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Six

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund



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General Editor

S. Gopal

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

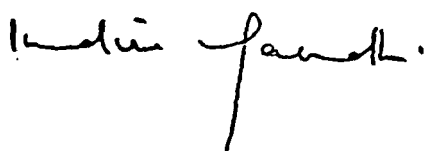
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the

outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

The twelve weeks between 7 April and 30 June 1948, covered in this volume, were marked by a change in the office of the Governor-General, the continuing quest for communal harmony and the attempt to nourish a feeling of responsibility for constructive nationhood. Among the many tasks confronting the country were the rehabilitation of refugees, development of an industrial economy, integration of States and preparation of the Constitution. Jawaharlal Nehru believed that whatever the immediate problems some time or other India would tread the path of self-realisation and greatness by acting according to the principles and example of Mahatma Gandhi. But Kashmir and Hyderabad distracted attention from positive activities. In neither case was there any sign of immediate solution. Beyond India, Nehru strove to improve the country's relations with Pakistan, develop a foreign policy of non-alignment and build economic cooperation among Asian countries.

The Nehru Memorial Library has been good enough to provide access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us a large number of documents in her possession, and these papers have been referred to in the footnotes as the J.N. Collection. The Broadlands Archives Trust has permitted us to reproduce extracts from the Mountbatten Papers. The Secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, the Ministries of Law, Home and External Affairs and the National Archives of India have authorized the reproduction of some notes and letters in their possession. Much of it is classified material, and some portions have necessarily been deleted. A few items from the volumes of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* have also been included.

The biographical footnotes in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* are not repeated; but references to biographical footnotes in those volumes are given in the index.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.I.S.P.C.	All India States People's Conference
B.O.A.C.	British Overseas Airways Corporation
B.P.C.C.	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.I.	Central India
C.-in-C.	Commander-in-Chief
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India
C.P.I.(M)	Communist Party of India (Marxist)
C.P.S.U.	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
D.C.	Deputy Commissioner
D.C.G.S.	Deputy Chief of General Staff
E.C.A.F.E.	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
G.C.S.I.	Knight Grand Commander (of the Order) of the Star of India
G.O.C.	General Officer Commanding
I.A. & A.S.	Indian Audit and Accounts Service
I.A.S.	Indian Administrative Service
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.P.S.	Indian Police Service
I.N.A.	Indian National Army
I.N.T.U.C.	Indian National Trade Union Congress
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.H.A.	Ministry of Home Affairs
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.M.M.L.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
O.R.	other ranks
P.A.C.	Provincial Armed Constabulary
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
P.I.B.	Press Information Bureau
P.M.	Prime Minister
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
P.W.D.	Public Works Department
R.A.F.	Royal Air Force

R.S.S.

U.P.

U.P.P.C.C.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

United Provinces

United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee

THE GENERAL APPROACH



1. The Opportunity and the Obligation¹

To you who are assembled in the annual session of this Conference of the Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain,² and to all our students in Great Britain, I send warm greetings.

Our country passes through troublous yet stirring times. We have witnessed much that is grievous and painful and much that greater discipline and fortitude and direction to the common good could perhaps have avoided. Nevertheless, our country and people as a whole have weathered the storm that broke over us with faith, courage and endurance, which have a notable place in our long history.

Many tasks confront us: the freedom which we have won must mean freedom, justice and opportunity for the common man, for one and all. Our country must take its honoured place among the nations of the world, potent to play its part in promoting world peace and security and enriching our human heritage.

These were the ideals in which our great national movement was nurtured for over a generation under the unique and historic leadership of Gandhiji who set the pace and led us with unfaltering faith and courage through storm and stress. They were our beacon lights. They are still our inspirations and our objectives, but today we have both the opportunity and the obligation to translate them by our efforts into realities.

It is not so long ago that the achievement of our freedom appeared to many as far distant an idea to be reached as some unknown future. The odds were overwhelming, but they were overcome. The forces unleashed the frustrations that have endured and the passions engendered present us problems and opportunities. We have to make up much leeway to make our freedom a reality, to end poverty and want and to make liberty the realised possession of every man and woman in our land. To these tasks you young men and women are called, for labour in every sphere of our economic, social, technical, industrial, cultural and spiritual rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Our ancient land stands on the threshold of her new destiny. Fresh and glorious chapters are to be added to her long and unbroken history. You are among the scribes. The knowledge, skill and, perhaps above all, the vision, and the maturity of experience and judgment that contact with the life and people abroad gives you, eminently fit you for these tasks.

1. Message to Indian students in Britain, New Delhi, 7 April 1948. File No. 9(37)/48-PMS.

2. The conference was held at Luss in Scotland in April 1948.

Soon you will be back home and to your tasks. They call for the highest degree of self-discipline, the capacity for working together, selfless devotion, a sense of the practical combined with the enduring passion of a noble idealism.

May these be with you at the service of our motherland.

The beloved Father of our Nation, the architect of our freedom, he who straightened our backs and won for us not merely freedom, but dignity and a sense of values, is no longer with us. He has left us a rich but onerous legacy. May you and I be worthy of it. Our lives and our examples alone can bear true witness.

My young comrades, I wish your conference and all of you well, and all success. *Jai Hind*.

2. Attaining a Vision¹

Although free India was born on August 15 last, it has to be admitted that we have not been able to achieve all that we would have liked to do uptill now. It is not because we had no plans to do any work but because without giving any chance to the country to recover from the effects of the last war, internal peace was disturbed at various places, more than once, much to the detriment of the interests of the people. It is a matter of great regret to me to see that there is no sign of happiness on the faces of the people. It is due to the fact that many problems have arisen since the withdrawal of foreign power from India.

I am aware that, after the attainment of independence, our problems are mainly how to uplift the poor masses, to make the country progressive, to give food and provide houses to the people, and how to find employment for all. As Gandhiji pointed out more than once, Swaraj did not mean only the end of foreign domination, but the self-sufficiency and happiness of the people. We should, therefore, remember that as we won our independence by our struggle and sacrifice we will have to carry on another struggle to lift the people from poverty and misery. If we want to make the people happy and prosperous, we should work hard and increase the national wealth. By wealth I do not mean money in cash or gold. I mean the self-

1. Speech at Sambalpur, 12 April 1948. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 14 April 1948.

sufficiency of the people. We will have to increase the production of the country and this can be done not only by human energy, but by electrical energy and water power as well.

The Government of India has decided to undertake projects in Madras, Bombay, West Bengal and other provinces for harnessing energy from natural resources. When such projects release great hydro-electric power and improve irrigation, people will automatically find employment in new factories and workshops and have plenty to eat.

These schemes will ultimately enable the people to live happily and comfortably. I see the vision of the days to come when, as a result of such projects, there will spring up many a prosperous town, many a prosperous village and everyone will be happy, everybody will receive education and every youth will be employed. I am confident that if we sincerely carry on our work and everybody cooperates with the Government, my vision will, before long, come true.

The Congress Government will therefore undertake different projects in different provinces. But just as, in spite of different cultures and different languages in different provinces, the Hindi language can unite us all with one common language, similarly projects that will be undertaken in different provinces will not be solely for the benefit of the respective provinces, but for the benefit of the whole country and the people in general.

If any province wants to keep aloof from the others, it will weaken not only itself but other provinces too. Isolation is a dangerous thing. Every province will march ahead keeping pace with others, everybody will progress unitedly. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the Mahanadi project² is solely for the benefit of the people of Orissa and that only Oriya engineers should be employed on the work. For your own benefit, you should bring great engineers from outside, if necessary, from America or Russia. At any rate, the work has to be done and done efficiently.

At the same time, it should also be remembered that politics has no connection with these works. We have not undertaken these works with an eye to the next general election. We are trying to do something for the benefit of the people so that the future generations might live peacefully and happily. Through work and only through work can we become great as other nations in the world have become great.

It is really regrettable that within the Congress divisions are being created for political reasons, thus weakening the Congress itself which has so long served the people faithfully and loyally. We should forget all our differences and put together all our energies to serve the people and the country.

The present international situation is rather gloomy. It might even lead to another war, although I, personally, hope that it will not come. India has

2. The 4,801.2-metre-long Hirakud Dam estimated to cost Rs. 471 million was to impound 815 crore cubic metres of the Mahanadi waters and irrigate an area of 2.51 lakh hectares.

not yet recovered from the effects of the last war. India, therefore, does not want to get itself entangled in another war if it comes.

Our internal problems are too many. Lakhs of people were, as a result of the partition of India, uprooted from their hearths and homes. The economic balance was upset. In spite of our abhorrence of machine-guns and mortars, the Indian Army has to fight intruders in the Kashmir valley. There is no imperialistic motive behind it, and I can assure all concerned that it is not a fight against Pakistan, but a fight against raiders who want to carry on loot and plunder in Kashmir and make Kashmiris their slaves. It is only to save the people of Kashmir that the Indian Army is fighting there. Although negotiations regarding Hyderabad are still going on, the situation in that State is rather bad.

A large number of army men have been demobilised because there is no necessity of maintaining as large an army as was raised during the Second World War. Moreover, if these men had been retained in the army, it would have meant an unnecessary expenditure of public funds. But the point is that they should be given work to earn their living. That is also a problem. As for the labour field, disruptive forces are at work which are urging workers to go on strike causing suspension of work and production, which also means a loss to the workers in wages.

In Calcutta an attempt was made to stage a strike by the Central Government employees there.³ The strike has completely failed and those who wanted to resort to violence for coercing others to join them were not allowed to have the upper hand. Those who instigated the strike cannot remain in the service of the Government.

The Government will always try to find employment for retrenched personnel from the army as also from other departments. For this purpose the Government has undertaken big projects and public works where the retrenched personnel can be provided for. When these big projects are completed, thousands of people will be able to find employment to earn their livelihood. The country has already many problems. Strikes and other disruptive activities only aggravate the problems and impede the progress of the country.

People should, therefore, realise that if the present problems are not aggravated by disruptive activities and if they can maintain peace throughout the country for some time to come, India will rise to heights of greatness.

It might be said that communal harmony was disrupted as a result of the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan and the resultant opposition to that demand, but all these are matters of the past. Now the policy of the Congress Government is not to allow communal organisations in the country. The Government wants the citizens of India, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh,

3. The Central Government employees in Calcutta were incited to strike on 3 April,

to consider themselves as Indians and live in peace and harmony. Let none of the people do anything which might harm the interests of the country.

The Congress Government has undertaken big projects and works to make the people happy and prosperous, thus establishing a socialist state through peaceful means. You must maintain perfect peace and harmony and increase the national wealth to achieve your cherished goal.

3. More Production and Equitable Distribution¹

I visited Orissa twelve years ago² and its ancient temples, sculpture and art greatly attracted me but I could not find the time to come again.

The struggle against the alien master who had enslaved the country is over. Now another bigger struggle is on against poverty and squalor. Under the Swaraj of our conception we shall not change the white bureaucracy into brown but bring about a substantial change in the standard of living.

Our country is rich in resources yet the people are poor. This paradox must be solved and poverty removed. For this new task a new spirit, a new strength, among the people, will have to be generated, so that production will greatly increase, and the increased wealth be equitably distributed among the people.

The Hirakud Dam project and the Bhubaneswar capital project are constructive schemes meant to raise production. Kalinga's ancient history stands in contrast to its present misery. After August 15, our task is to preserve independence, fight poverty, ill-health and ignorance. The partition of the country and the subsequent holocaust spread communal poison throughout the country which resulted in the assassination of the greatest man, Mahatma Gandhi. Now it is our task to root out this evil from the country.

In the last three or four months the intricate problem of the Indian States has been greatly solved. Today all the Indian States except Hyderabad are enjoying more or less responsible government. Hyderabad is the only State where no change has been seen. I congratulate the Orissa States rulers

1. Speech at Cuttack, 14 April 1948. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 April 1948.

2. Nehru had visited Orissa on 12 November 1936. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, p. 555.

on the merger of their States.³ Our offer for a free plebiscite in Kashmir to decide the question of accession still stands.

I regret the secession of the Socialists from the Congress.⁴ Had the Socialists remained in the Congress it would have benefited both the Congress and the Socialists. The time has not yet come when we should stand against one another. The Congress is bound by its election pledge. We are committed to change the economic structure; the zamindari system is going but our duty is to see that in the process of change we do not injure the existing structure to the extent that the country suffers in the long run. Everyone should concentrate on greater production of wealth and hence there is all this emphasis on constructive projects including the big river valley projects.

India is not going to join either the Anglo-American or the Soviet bloc. We shall follow what we consider just and reasonable. Our whole weight will be lent always for peace in international affairs.

The ban on the Communist Party in West Bengal and arrest of Communist workers all over the country⁵ is a domestic matter and has no international significance. It does not mean that we have joined either bloc. Such a ban in West Bengal was imposed on the provincial Government's own initiative. The Central Government was not responsible for it, but the Communists were fomenting such troubles and strikes in factories and offices that in view of the extremely critical and delicate times this unpleasant duty of curtailing the civil liberties had to be undertaken painfully and reluctantly.

I appeal to all to implement the decision of the Industries Conference for industrial truce.

In Calcutta, the Central Government employees' strike has failed but the Government is not going to be vindictive. Only the instigators who committed violence can expect no quarter. I appeal for united efforts to raise production thereby removing unemployment and raising the standard of living of the masses.

3. The rulers of 25 Orissa States had entered into an agreement with the Government of India on 14-15 December 1947 to merge their States with the province of Orissa from 1 January 1948. The Orissa States Assembly, consisting of the elected representatives of these States, met at Cuttack on 26 April 1948.
4. The Socialist Party, at a convention in Nasik on 20 March 1948 ratified a decision taken by its national executive on 18 March to dissociate itself completely from the Congress and to work in future as a full-fledged independent party.
5. The police in Calcutta arrested 400 Communists in five days from 26 March when the West Bengal Government outlawed the Communist Party. Arrests of Communists spread to Bombay and Poona with S.A. Dange taken into custody in Bombay on 2 April. About 15,000 Bombay mill workers struck work on 3 April in protest. Other arrests followed in Delhi, Madras, and Bombay.

4. Public Confidence in the Government¹

I have been welcomed as if I am a stranger to the city of Bombay. As a matter of fact, in the last two years I have become a stranger not only to Bombay but to all other parts of the country. There was a time when I visited Bombay every few months because, besides being an industrial centre, it was a centre of national work. It so happened that I could not visit the city during the last twenty months. I do not know whether you liked it or not, but it did not please me not to visit this city because I have lived in this city and I have in it many friends and co-workers. It is sad not to get an opportunity to meet them.

The Mayor, Dr. M.U. Mascarenhas,² referred to my services to the cause of India's freedom and my incarceration for a number of years. Yet compared to my present position, the years spent in jail were fairly easy. The last twenty months in office were more difficult than ten years of jail life. I feel I am bound down, my movements restricted and the work more taxing. I cannot move out without guards or act without the advice of officials in important works.

My last visit to Bombay was in August 1946 after the Working Committee meeting at Wardha.³ It was at Wardha that I received a message from the Viceroy inviting me as the representative of the Congress to form a Government at the Centre. After a few days my connection with the Central Government started. Since then many developments took place, and I continued to remain at Delhi.

Many events took place during these twenty months. But this short period appeared to be a century. These events must be fresh in the memory of the people. The Government faced enough troubles and worked in trying conditions. Millions of people suffered great hardships, but they never faltered nor lost their faith in the Government. This is a heartening sign, and I thank the people of India for their confidence in the Government. I would not have had the courage and the strength to shoulder the responsibilities of my office had it not been for the sympathy and support of every man and woman in the country.

When I landed at the Juhu aerodrome on Friday morning, I was greeted by wildly enthusiastic crowds. This reception did not surprise me as I am

1. Address at a civic reception, Bombay, 23 April 1948. Based on reports from *The Times of India* and *The Hindu*, 24 April 1948.
2. (1885-1961); member, Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1935-48; Mayor of Bombay, 1948-49.
3. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 15, p. 248.

well acquainted with the people of Bombay whose every welcome to me has been as rowdy as it was spontaneous. The behaviour of the crowds at the aerodrome may have annoyed some people but it had a tonic effect on me after having come from Delhi which is like a jail to me.

The atmosphere in New Delhi was developing in a strange way. The happenings in the Punjab had their effect on Delhi also, and it had, therefore, earned a bad name for some time. Therefore, I had to be there and could not come to Bombay all these months.

I do not want to go into the question of financial aid to Bombay from the Central Government because I have not studied the position. But generally speaking, Bombay is noted for its wealth. I am, therefore, surprised that it should stretch out its hand towards Delhi. Bombay claims to be *urb prima* in India. Does it befit such a city to ask another for help? Being the first city, it has its responsibilities. It should help others and not ask for help.

5. Current Problems¹

Question : Could you say something on the latest developments in Hyderabad?

Jawaharlal Nehru : The Government of India's patience in dealing with the issue of Hyderabad State is on the verge of being exhausted. The simple issue in regard to Hyderabad is not one of accession, nor even one of responsible government in that State, although these issues are important by themselves. The real question is this : that a certain section of the population of Hyderabad is fomenting hostile acts against India. We do not know if that section of the people represents the Hyderabad Government or not. Neither do we know if the Hyderabad Government is powerless to check it, or, may be, it does not desire to check it. In either event, the time has arrived when these hostilities must cease absolutely. If the Hyderabad Government cannot stop them, other measures will have to be adopted to stop them.

Q: Sir, will India withdraw from the U.N. over the Kashmir question?

JN: Regarding Kashmir, I may say that at the moment there is no question or suggestion of India withdrawing from the United Nations.

1. Remarks at a reception given by journalists of Bombay, 26 April 1948. Based on reports from *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*, 27 April 1948.

Q: Do you think it is desirable for India to remain in the British Commonwealth?

JN: So far India has decided to be a sovereign republic, and the Constituent Assembly is proceeding on that line. It is a matter which will have to be eventually decided by the Constituent Assembly. It will also have to be looked at in the light of world events. Much is happening in the world today and India cannot afford to adopt an isolationist attitude. Personally, I would like the closest relationship to exist between India and the British Commonwealth.

However, if association with the British Commonwealth means lining up with a certain set of powers, then I would be against it. I think it is a wrong policy to form nation groups. I am personally in favour of an Asian group for cooperation on the economic and cultural plane. Similarly, we can have some sort of close relationship with the British Commonwealth. If we can pursue our own policies without any interference, we can consider what kind of relationship we can have with the British Commonwealth.

Q: Sir, will you be meeting Marshal Stalin and President Truman within the next 12 months?

JN: Well, I do not know. But I would like to.

Q: Sir, what are your views on the role of foreign capital in India?

JN: The Government of India has no objection to foreign capital operating in India, provided it is under Indian control and in India. But there are certain specialised industries involving secret processes, of which we do not possess the technical know-how. If we want them, we will inevitably have to come to terms with those who possess these secrets, and, naturally, we will try to get the best terms possible to the advantage of our country.

Q: Do you think English will continue as the official language in free India?

JN: Well, it is obvious that English is bound to continue in a large measure for some time to come. But its use will become progressively less. It is wrong deliberately to push English out of the picture. It should be pushed out in the sense of developing Indian languages, but not merely to create a vacuum.

Regarding the controversy on the question whether the *lingua franca* of India should be Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu, I may remind you that all along the Congress has been advocating the use of Hindustani in both the Devnagari and the Urdu scripts, and Mahatma Gandhi himself had been in favour of

this. But during the past few months there has been an outcry in favour of Hindustani being pushed out and I regret this attempt. It is inevitable that in India the Devnagari script being more popular it should become more and more important, and, ultimately, the dominant script. But all this will happen by natural growth, and not by compulsorily pushing out one script or the other. Compulsion is injurious and will lead to a linguistic controversy. The Hindi-Urdu question is not a Hindu-Muslim question, but a territorial question.

The whole objective of Mahatma Gandhi in advocating the use of both scripts had been to enrich the language. The tendency to use highly Sanskritised words for simple English words such as "station" and "railway engine" in Hindi is to be deprecated. I would like the Hindi language to absorb more and more English words, particularly technical words. English is a powerful language, because it is absorbing foreign words at the rate of at least 5,000 words every year. Also I do not like the word Hindustani, the right word is Hindi.

Q: Could you explain your remark made yesterday that the Communists were "the most reactionary people in the country?"²

JN: A person can be called a reactionary whenever the results of his actions are reactionary, and not progressive, and I find the policy of the Communist Party in India is such as to lead to reaction. The black marketeers and hoarders are not the only reactionaries. Merely cursing these black marketeers and hoarders does not lead to the elimination of capitalism or blackmarketing. In Burma, for instance, the Communists are leading a rebellion against the Government,³ with the possible result that they are strengthening certain reactionary forces in the country. Under the guise of fighting against reactionary forces they are strengthening them.

The arrests of Communists in Bombay and other places have not been made on the mere ground that they were Communists, but because there is evidence in the possession of the Government of India of the fact that these Communists were definitely planning nation-wide sabotage and the like in certain parts of the country.⁴ They were also collecting arms to achieve their ends. It was to nip this kind of activity in the bud, and not as a measure against the Communist Party; that action has been taken by many provincial governments.

2. See *post*, p. 287.

3. The Communist Party of Burma (Red Flag) led by Thakin Soe and the Burma Communist Party (White Flag) under Thakin Tun tried to wrest power, by violence, from the British colonial authority after Japan's surrender, and from the nationalist Burmese Government of U Nu after 4 January 1948 when Burma became independent.

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 349-350.

The ban on the Communist Party in Bengal was an act of the Bengal Government, and the Government of India has nothing to say about it except that the Bengal Government has thought it fit to impose the ban and that it is their responsibility.

Q: Sir, there have been a number of complaints against the many fetters on the liberties of the press in free India. I urge the Prime Minister to keep the channels of communications between the press and the Government free and open so that we may have access to the highest authority to represent our case. Also could I request the Government to distinguish between the responsible and irresponsible sections in the press while imposing various restrictions?

JN: You have touched on a very difficult and delicate subject. Obviously, we are facing a complex situation in the country. When a state is faced with many problems, it has to consider what problem should be given the highest priority. If there is a fire, it has got to be put out. If there is a riot it has to be put down. Similarly, if there is an attempt to upset the state, it has got to be put down. Today we have a national and an international situation, which, I think, is not likely to lead to a world war in the near future. The internal situation in India is the direct result of a large number of factors arising after August 15.

What has happened in India after that date is indeed very sad. Many of us who know closely what has happened have not been able to recover yet from the mental shock of the events. Our shock is all the more because such things took place in India, which we could never dream of. These events eventually culminated in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

You have referred to the freedom of the press. I am fully in agreement with that view. But when we consider the freedom of the press in the abstract, we have also to consider the freedom of the individual. You will all agree that when murder and arson are lurking about the streets, it is obvious that freedom of the press has to take a second place and murder and arson should be put down first. Freedom of the press, therefore, cannot have priority. I do not think I have changed my opinion in the least in regard to the freedom of the individual and the freedom of the press. I think it is impossible to have any real growth without the growth of the individual and the press.

The Government of India has to deal with many immediate and difficult problems. There is the danger of any government adopting an attitude of self-righteousness and self-complacency in its attempt to solve difficult problems. The Government of India has, therefore, to examine its own actions and not be satisfied with any sense of self-righteousness and self-complacency. I try to examine myself before doing anything because the fact that we mean well does not always mean that all is well.

goes wrong in the country, and we do not have the right to say that it was not our fault and that other people were to blame. So I realize this responsibility and feel that it was our fault and our weakness that we could not handle the situation properly. You can imagine how painful it is to realise that in spite of our holding the reins of government, someone could kill our beloved Bapu. How can we raise our heads, what sort of a government are we and what a Prime Minister am I, that we could not save such a respected, beloved and invaluable man! I agree that no individual or government has the strength to do everything whatever needed by the country. If we had that strength there would not be so much misery in the country. We would have eradicated all the misery by magic and the people would have become happy. But nothing can be done by magic. We have to work hard if anything is to be achieved and the situation can be brought under control only gradually. When madness erupts among the people, it becomes very difficult to control it. What else was seen in the Punjab and in northern India in the last few months except a kind of madness? People forgot all the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi. We forgot the principles which he constantly dinned in our ears, the principles which we had followed, although in a weak manner and with occasional lapses, and which made us strong and secured freedom for our country. But at that particular time people forgot those principles and became mad and harmed and injured the country and weakened it. We had won the respect of the world by demonstrating how we could put up a fight in a civilized manner and achieve independence by following the path of nonviolence. We showed how we opposed a mighty empire without deviating from civilized behaviour. Our country had grown in stature because of Mahatma Gandhi. We were in fact very small men but a great man came and pulled us to the heights and brought great honour to our country. But many of us forgot the lessons that he taught so completely that we indulged in shameful activities. We are ashamed of ourselves and cannot hold our heads high. Ultimately, it led to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

So the question before us is, now what lesson should we learn? The path shown by Mahatma Gandhi—leave aside small things, but take the fundamental principles—is it right for us even today and should we continue to follow it? Many people had begun to feel that they felt compelled to murder the Mahatma. The nation became sad and expressed sorrow but that is not enough. The question is what is the path that we should follow? We have to be clear in our minds whether the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi is right or wrong or whether it was right for that time but is no longer so. There is a great demand for building a memorial to Gandhiji. Subscriptions are being collected and it should certainly be done. No memorial is too big for him. But what is the use of a memorial if we abandon the path shown by him? What is the use of a brick and mortar memorial? That would be an insult to him.

So you must understand these fundamental things. Remember that no enemy can do us great harm if we follow the right path. It is true that our enemies did us a great deal of harm in the last 150-200 years and Pakistan did so recently. But if we think that we must retaliate by doing such acts as are done by our enemy, then we will fall and that will harm us more than what our enemies can do. The events that happened during the last few months were not because of the British, though the British did harm us a great deal in the beginning. Nor did they happen because of Pakistan, though Pakistan has also harmed us by its policies. The fact is that we have inflicted wounds on ourselves. The moment we deviated from the right path and started doing wrong things, we fell, we hurt ourselves, and if India has wounds today, they are not the ones that we received at the hands of our enemy but they are self-inflicted wounds.

What then should we do? People were carried away, even our own colleagues had gone astray and started saying wrong things. The nation woke up with a start when the Mahatma was killed and began to wonder where we were going, and how to stop the spreading poison. There was some awakening. I do not know whether the same spirit is still there or people who spread this poison were quiet for a while because they were afraid of the people's wrath. But now they are raising their heads again. So you have to be very careful and be prepared to see that the poison does not spread again. Otherwise our country will be ruined. It will be suicidal to indulge in such acts once again and invite trouble from outside too.

We have to understand these basic questions. There are very big questions before us. We emerged out of our great trouble only to fall into other troubles. We seem to be constantly floundering in turbulent seas. Gradually, by the grace of God we seem to be acquiring the strength to get through the worst phase. But storms keep coming. The strength of one or two or even a thousand persons cannot help us to cross these stormy seas. Yes, one man did carry us across very stormy seas but today he is no longer with us. We are left with his words of wisdom and that is a big help. We can now hope to cross these seas only with the help of the people of India.

What did Gandhiji teach us? He taught us the lesson of unity, not today, but nearly twenty-eight years ago. When the civil disobedience movement was first thought of and he tried to get the whole country together, he tried to teach the millions of India to cast off fear from their hearts and to follow the path of nonviolence. Those fundamental lessons are still with us. You might feel that we are going away from the path of nonviolence because there has been so much violence in the last six months and because we are fighting a war over Kashmir. You might also ask why should we keep an army? The question is legitimate but not quite logical. In the world of today, we have to be strong in every way to follow effectively the path of nonviolence shown by Gandhiji. If we are not strong, then we can easily become a slave

of other countries. So we are constrained to maintain an army in the world of today to maintain peace and order. We have had to maintain home guards, an air force and what not, because if we do not do so, we will flounder in the world of today. Even so, the lesson of nonviolence taught by Mahatma Gandhi is fundamentally still applicable and we must not forget it. As long as the world does not learn to follow that path, it is pursuing a path of self-destruction.

We have often had big wars. There have been two world wars in the last thirty years and as a result of them half the world lay in ruins. Now there is again talk of war. It is very surprising how the world leaders do not learn from experience! If there is one thing that can be said positively, it is that the path which the world has followed in the last thirty to forty years is wrong and leads to ruin; and if there is a way of saving the world, it is the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. But it is a path which is difficult to traverse alone. Even so, I hope that our country will not forget this fundamental lesson and will set an example to the world. Leave aside the world, you can see what happened within the country. We completely forgot his lesson and indulged in massacres. If anyone were to tell me that the blame lay with Pakistan or the Muslim League and that the trouble started by their demand for Pakistan, it would be correct to a certain extent because this was how the poison first began to spread in this country. But it is not the complete answer. I am fully convinced that whatever the Muslim League might have done, if the Congress and our people had kept firm control over themselves, we could have rapidly put a stop to these trends and also increased our strength and would have had a tremendous impact on the world.

Our country became independent on the 15th of August. If you had asked me ten or fifteen days before that as to what I would do on getting independence, I would have put great plans before you and said that now that the political question of achieving independence had been solved, we would now take up the big social problems and try to uplift our society. We do have big plans for economic progress too, to eradicate poverty from our country and put an end to unemployment, to extend irrigation to lands which are lying uncultivated because of lack of water, to generate electricity from mountain streams and rivers, to open big factories, to increase the country's wealth in these various ways and give employment to the people so that their standard of living may improve. The condition of the people cannot improve on its own, nor can we bring in wealth from outside, from China or Japan. We have to produce wealth by hard work and the condition of the country will improve in proportion to the hard work we put in. We have to do one thing more and that is to ensure that the wealth thus produced does not find its way into a few pockets but is equally distributed all over the country. So two things become necessary—one is to produce as much wealth as possible in the country from whatever source, from fields, from factories,

cottage industries, etc., and secondly to ensure proper distribution of that wealth among the people.

We had made big plans and my idea was that before the end of August-September we would start taking some steps in that direction. But immediately after the 15th, there was such a terrible cloudburst over the whole of the Punjab province that it engulfed the border province and also spread to two other provinces as well as to Delhi with the result that all the plans had to be forgotten. How could we implement any plans when people were killing one another on the streets and the entire cities were being ruined? We became victims of these disasters and months passed before we could come out of them gradually. Even when peace came, it was only on the surface. People were broken-hearted, full of bitterness and wounded. Even today the wounds are raw and I do not know how long it will take for them to heal. We have to try to heal them by following the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi in his prayer meetings in Delhi even in those troubled days. A storm was raging in Delhi, Punjab and on the borders and elsewhere, but every evening Mahatma Gandhi's gentle voice could be heard in Delhi telling the people what to do and what not to do. I tell you that if Mahatma Gandhi had not been in Delhi at that time and his voice had not been heard, not only in Delhi but all over India, I do not know if there was any other power, governmental or any other, which could have restored sanity in the country. He brought it back. We used to go running to him for advice whenever we were in doubt or faced with difficulty. It was not for advice alone that we went to him but also to get some strength by looking at him in such difficult times.

So the question before us is whether we should heed that advice or not. As you know, on several occasions, I had been audacious enough and showed lack of good manners when I attempted a critical appraisal of Gandhiji's ideas. I am still prepared to do so and you too have that right. I do not want you to accept anything blindly—at least not what I say. I want you to accept it after understanding it. Sometimes I am almost afraid when you give me so much love and affection. I am afraid of two things, one, that your love for me makes you less discerning; secondly, that I may not get carried away by your love or become more conceited than I already am, as you know. This is a great danger. Enemies can be given battle. But how can we struggle against people who love us? So, as I said, I did try to analyse whatever Mahatma Gandhi said and often argued with him. But the more I thought about the fundamental thought of his philosophy, the more enduring they seemed, not only for the present but for generations to come. I have come to the conclusion that if we deviate from them, we will suffer and if we hold firmly to them, no enemy can ever defeat us. He had taught us to live together in harmony irrespective of our religions and castes. Why? It is not enough to say that it is a good thing. He said it because he knew that no country could progress in the world of today if it tried to lay

its foundations on any one religion. This sort of thing can no longer exist. You cannot find this anywhere in the world except perhaps in some backward countries, and if we try to do so, we will isolate ourselves from the world of today. Some people in the Hindu Mahasabha and certain other organizations are asserting that they will create a Hindu Rashtra. What does it mean? Hindus are in a majority in our country and they can do whatever they think proper. Nobody can stop them. But the moment you say that you will make a Hindu Rashtra, it means that those who are not Hindus do not have full rights in the country. They are not first class citizens. They get a second place. All these days we have believed that Swaraj means equal rights for all in the country, to whatever religion or caste they may belong. We cannot differentiate between any groups. Everyone must have an equal share in our democracy. There is freedom of religion for all in this country. No one will be suppressed. But the country will be governed by political principles and not by religious dogmas. We will follow high principles but they will not be related to any one religion. Ours will be what is known as a secular state. This new call to create a Hindu nation is born out of the ignorance of people who understand neither the circumstances of today's world nor the fact that India cannot progress on these lines. We have dreamt for a long time of India's freedom and her elevation to the rank of one of the great nations of the world because we have the strength and all the necessary resources in men and material. We have highly educated and trained personnel to become a great nation. There is only one shortcoming and that is that too much energy is wasted in quarrels and fighting. The British Government sowed the seeds of this disunity among us and thus weakened us. Then came Gandhiji who brought us together; and thus strengthened we went ahead. But the moment we forgot that lesson, all these disasters overtook us. We have to understand this development.

Pakistan was created and its creation inflicted a wound on the body-politic of India and I do not know when it will heal. However, partition of India is a *fait accompli* and now it is useless to discuss about it. If anyone were to suggest that Pakistan and India should be united again, I am not prepared to accept it, though the partition was absolutely wrong, against the law of nature and harmful both to us and to them. But I have no doubt that sometime in the future our relations will improve. How and when this will happen, I cannot say. But relations will have to improve because if they do not, it will lead to more fighting. There is no middle path, no other way to live. But all this is for the future. If Pakistan wished to join India now, I would not accept it because it would only mean inviting a thousand battles. We have to build up our country now and if fresh problems are created, we will be ruined. So whatever may happen in the future, I do not want to take on fresh burdens because I want to build up our country first, which is in itself a great responsibility.

Anyhow, as you know, though Pakistan has become separate, millions of Muslims live in our country, apart from the people belonging to other religions. How should they conduct themselves? They should have equal rights as citizens of this country. They should not be made to feel that they are merely tolerated here or that they have no real place in India. If they feel insecure, the result will be widespread panic in India and Pakistan, which will retard our country's progress. So it becomes necessary for you to understand that we have to run this country without making any distinctions on grounds of religion. It is a different matter when people indulge in rioting or impede the country's progress because of some grievance. That becomes a political matter; and so whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or any other people, action has to be taken against them. But to think that a person revolts because he happens to belong to a particular religion is wholly wrong. You have seen how in this country many Hindus have indulged in such activities and have hurt the country greatly by forming communal organisations. After all, it was a Hindu who murdered Gandhiji. Would you say that it made all the Hindus unpatriotic? That would not be proper. Such thinking is itself wrong. There are good people and bad people in our country, there are wise men and there are fools—there are all sorts of people. We have to make the good people strong by uniting them so that the evil forces may not conquer them.

There are big problems before our country these days and we have not been able to tackle them because of the difficulties created by the partition. As you know, our forces are engaged in fighting in Kashmir, there is rioting in Hyderabad and on the borders too,² which is causing great concern and is a source of anger for our people. There are problems before us of poverty and unemployment of our people, and especially of the refugees—fifty to sixty lakhs in number—from the Punjab, Sind and the borders whose accounts of suffering and desolation are heart-rending. These are big burdens to be borne and these problems cannot be solved without the cooperation of our people.

What can I say about Kashmir except that we went into Kashmir not to win any victories or to show off our military strength or to conquer territories? We went there because the raiders who had come into Kashmir were causing havoc wherever they went, killing people, looting etc. Please remember that among the people whom they ruined there were both Hindus and Muslims. So please remember that the Kashmir problem is not a Hindu-Muslim question because the Hindus and Muslims are fighting these raiders together. These raiders are from Pakistan, from the border provinces and some of the tribal areas. So we went into Kashmir at the invitation of both Hindus and

2. A campaign of violence, including murder, arson and loot, was conducted by the Razakars and the Nizam's police force.

Muslims and saved them when they were facing grave danger and even after that we said that the people of Kashmir should decide their future as they thought best. They could stay with us or not as they liked. We have said that we want people's rule there. We do not get any special advantage because of that. But we could not bear to sit and watch Kashmir being ruined and its Hindu and Muslim population destroyed. So we took on this heavy and enormous burden not only in financial terms—that is of course there—but also in terms of sacrifice of lives and other things. We took a pledge that we would help them, and we are determined to keep our promise.

As you know, we had presented our case about Kashmir to the Security Council in the United States. We feel that from many aspects its decision is wholly improper and unfair and if we were to abide by it, we would be breaking our pledge to Kashmir. We do not wish to break our promise, whatever the decision of the Security Council may be.

Then there is the question of Hyderabad. You must be worried about it and so are we. We have tried to solve the problem by peaceful methods as there has already been a lot of rioting. We have tried repeatedly to solve this problem peacefully but so far we have not had any success. It is a long story, and as regards the internal situation of Hyderabad, there is at the moment an organization there which is shouting from rooftops that they will allow neither democracy nor responsible government to function nor let Hyderabad be merged with India.³ They say it is a Muslim State and that they will retain it like that. It means a few people want to rule over the entire population. Arson, loot, killing, etc., are going on there and sometimes they come up to the borders and beat up the people on this side. Anyhow, for us there is no question of a Hindu or Muslim State because we do not look at any problem in that light. We want people's rule in which Hindus and Muslims should have equal rights. But we can never accept an arrangement whereby a handful of people rule over the entire population in Hyderabad. As you know among the many big events that have happened in India in the last few months, the biggest is the ending of the Indian States, established by the British hundred to hundred and fifty years ago. In the last few months, of the 600-odd States, big and small, only about 30-35 are left. The smaller States have merged with India and the bigger ones have come together to form unions which form a part of India as in Saurashtra, Rajasthan and elsewhere. We have made separate arrangements with three or four of the big States

3. The Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen, founded in 1927 to spread Islamic culture, became politically active in 1940-1947 and developed into a fascist, para-military organisation whose volunteers—the Razakars—used violence to terrorise opponents, both Hindu and Muslim. It dominated the Nizam's government by December 1947.

directly.⁴ So, the number of these States is greatly reduced and, secondly, all of them have accepted the principle of responsible government and it is being practised, if not fully, at least to a large extent. The only princely State in the whole country which has not yet agreed to anything is Hyderabad. You can imagine how difficult it is to tolerate a situation like this in today's world, and that too right in the heart of the country, that a feudal regime should continue to exist when the rest of the country is free. Nor is it possible for India to tolerate that within her territory there should be a State which desires to establish relations with foreign countries. We cannot allow a foreign country to establish a foothold either on the coasts or within Indian territory. We were helpless in the matter of creation of Pakistan and are helpless about the foreign pockets which still exist here and there in India, as you know. But basically their continuance is against the wishes of the people and, secondly, they constitute a danger for us to some extent. Any foreign power can take advantage of them and do harm to us.

Therefore our policy could only be to see to it that no part of Indian territory, within or along the coast, should be in the hands of any foreign power. Hyderabad is not a foreign country. But if it feels that it is independent and has the right to establish relations with foreign powers, then it constitutes a danger for us. I am not talking about what the people want or what we want. I am putting this to you in the context of our international policy. It is obvious that if Hyderabad State had the right to come to agreements—military or otherwise—with European powers, it would spell danger for us. India cannot tolerate a situation like this where Hyderabad has the right to establish political relations with a foreign power. So I have put this problem before you in the context of international relations. It is obvious that our policy would be to have close relations with Hyderabad and that the people there should be free. After all, the population of India is one. How can anyone separate it into different strands? How can the majority of the people be free and a few remain slaves? That would only lead to problems and tensions as it is happening today on our borders. We accepted the principle that there should be no haste or quarrels over this and that the problems have to be solved by mutual agreement. So we entered into a Standstill Agreement with the Government of Hyderabad.⁵ But it

4. By January 1948, all the princely States contiguous to Indian territory, except Hyderabad and Junagadh, had acceded to the Indian Union. To make them viable economic and administrative units, 216 States were merged with adjoining provinces, 275 States were grouped into five Unions of States and 61 arranged into seven units as centrally administered areas.

5. The Nizam and the Government of India had signed this agreement on 29 November 1947. Valid for one year, it gave India control of foreign affairs, defence and communications, while the domestic authority of the Nizam remained intact. Each party was to appoint an Agent-General in the other's capital and negotiate a permanent settlement.

was not acted upon. To some extent the fault lay with both the sides and, instead of the situation becoming better, it has deteriorated further.

Anyhow, it is a long story. Let me tell you briefly what the present situation is. The question of responsible government, etc., is no doubt very important. But leaving that aside, the other similar question which cannot be ignored at all is the constant fighting on the borders of Hyderabad in which thousands may get killed or harmed. These things cannot go on and the government of Hyderabad has to realize the fact that the patience of the Indian Government is at an end. If anyone tries to do us harm on our borders, he will be dealt with immediately. It is not enough to shift the blame on to the so-called irresponsible Razakars. It means either the government of Hyderabad deliberately encourages those Razakars or that it cannot control them effectively. If it does not want to control them, it means that the Razakars have its approval. Or if it is unable to control them, then it means that it is not fit to administer the State and it would be better to replace it. There is no other way. I am amazed to read the kind of speeches that are made by the leaders in Hyderabad—totally irresponsible speeches which no sensible person would ever make.⁶ I am amazed that such things are said and the government tolerates them. The Government of Hyderabad is answerable for this and excuses are not enough when we have evidence to prove what is really happening. But the main thing is, whatever happens, if anyone dares to attack, whether it is from Bombay or Madras or Madhya Bharat, he will be promptly repulsed and the government of Hyderabad will be held responsible. You might have heard about the recent attack in which a policeman of Bombay was killed and some others injured. What is all this? Undue advantage is being taken of our efforts to solve problems by peaceful means.

I mentioned the problem of Hyderabad because I wanted to make matters quite clear to you and to the people of India and possibly to the leaders in Hyderabad. Even if the people of Hyderabad consider themselves alien to us they are Indians and we want to give them that status and, whether they are Hindus or Muslims, we want to treat them alike. But unfortunately the people who are in power in Hyderabad and the other leaders are following such a wrong path that they may even ruin Hyderabad completely which is a sad thing. We are making every effort to see that no action of ours leads them further on to the path of ruin because after all it is a part of our country and it has to stay with us—its people and its territory are ours. How can we wage war on our own territory or do harm to our brethren? Therefore we have to

6. On 4, 6, 9 and 31 March and 9 April 1948, Kasim Razvi, President of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen, and two ministers of the Nizam asked the Muslims of Hyderabad to take to arms in defence of an Islamic State of Hyderabad and spoke of all Muslims in India as fifth columnists in case of a conflict.

tread carefully because we do not want to sow the seeds of revolt and poison, nor do we wish to shed any more blood. There has already been enough bloodshed in the country.

I have come here after twenty months and have spent four days with you. For four days I have escaped the heat of Delhi—by heat I do not mean only the temperature. Though I knew that I would not get much rest, it was refreshing to breathe the fresh sea breeze and to swim every day in the sea because I do not get such opportunities in Delhi. And in the last four days you, the people of Bombay, have shown me so much affection that I am overwhelmed and I do not know what to say. I begin to realise my limitation when you repose so much faith in me and show so much affection for me. I do not know if anyone can be worthy of all this and I feel afraid that, by proving myself unworthy, I would be causing you pain. So you have placed a great burden on me. What can I say except that I will work to the best of my ability and strength? To be the Prime Minister of India is a high honour because there are very few posts in the world which are comparable to it and it carries great responsibilities with it. But even before this the positions that you put me in were no less important. You made me the President of the Congress which is the highest position in the country.⁷ But more important is the position you have given me in your hearts, for what can be higher than that?

So I take leave of you for some time. I will try to come again soon, but if I do not, then please think that I am busy and not that I do not wish to come. Sometimes have pity on me too and do remember all the big problems and difficulties that we are facing.

These are some of my problems that I have put before you. We have to work very hard. We will work till our strength lasts and then others will take over. Ultimately, we have to keep the flame of freedom lit by our elders burning and if one individual's hands are weakened, by age or otherwise, then thousands of other hands should be raised to carry on the task. We must never let that light go out. I know that there is great courage, spirit of sacrifice and all such qualities in us. But the rapidly spreading indiscipline causes uneasiness. Internal quarrels destroy our strength. I feel sad to see that some brave colleagues of the freedom movement have decided to go their separate ways.⁸ I understand that to some extent the parting of ways was inevitable and we can only hope that we will come together at some future date. But

7. Nehru was President of the Indian National Congress in 1929, in 1936 and in 1946.

8. The Congress Socialists met at Nasik on 19-21 March 1948 and decided to leave the Congress.

we must see to it that we should do nothing that might cause misunderstanding or destroy our friendship. We must make all possible efforts to keep everyone united. We make mistakes but when we are in high positions in government, it is difficult to be objective about our mistakes. Others can perceive our mistakes better, so I would like you to point them out to me. So we have to work in harmony with everyone, even with our opponents. We have to face many inimical forces in the country and outside. So we must constantly remember Mahatma Gandhi's basic teachings.

I would like to remind you of one thing. As you know, Mahatma Gandhi liked Hindustani very much and used to give a great deal of publicity to it. Why? He saw it as yet another means of binding the country together. Nowadays there are loud debates about Hindustani and Hindi and the script to be used. There is a strange move to use and evolve such a language as is quite pure even if it is hardly understood by the people. This is not the way to improve the people's minds. A language can grow only by being used by the common man, not by legislation from above. The languages of India, like Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Tamil, have a rich heritage and they will continue to grow. But we must have one common language. Hindi or Hindustani will no doubt be most suitable for the purpose. We have to see to it that it should be enriched by words from all languages. I would go so far as to incorporate words from English too. We must not take words away from a language. Why should we look for difficult substitutes in Sanskrit and Persian for simple words understood by everyone? Mahatma Gandhi had laid special emphasis on Hindustani and wanted that it should be a language which is easily understood by the people so that it can spread rapidly. I would say that the present trend of emphasis on pure Hindi will cause great harm to its cause. Hindi is spoken by the majority of the people and it will continue to grow, but if we persist in our ways, we will obstruct its growth and give rise to debates and quarrels. It will be wholly against what Mahatma Gandhi said all these days. So I want you to think about this carefully, keeping before you Mahatma Gandhi's picture of India, that is, of unity and love and cooperation, in order to face the problems before us successfully. Once we have succeeded in overcoming the present difficulties, then if you want you may quarrel among yourselves a bit but at the moment there is no time to quarrel.

I have taken up a lot of your time. Thank you very much once again.
Jai Hind.

7. The Sharing of Swaraj¹

First of all I would like to congratulate the Dakshina Bharat Hindustani Prachar Sabha for the good work it is doing for propagating Hindi. I hope the people in the South will pick up this language.

The people of India had to undergo trouble and travail during the last several years. They have solved great problems but have still to solve other problems. They have got rid of British domination but the real Swaraj for the common people has yet to come. We want the poor and the downtrodden as sharers in Swaraj.

I appeal to the people of India to rise above sectarianism, communalism and provincialism, and to remain united in order to build up a modern secular state in India by following the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi. Communalism resulted not only in the division of the country, which inflicted a deep wound in the heart of the people which will take a long time to heal—if it ever heals—but also in the assassination of the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi.

I, therefore, urge you to root out communalism from politics and to work ceaselessly for the welfare of the common man, which can be achieved not through hatred and violence, sectarianism and provincialism, but through unity and mutual cooperation. In South India you have the problem of Brahmin and non-Brahmin. I may tell you that it brings no credit to the people of this province just as what had happened in the North had not added to the credit of the people living there. Such preachings come in the way of progress. The people want India to grow into a great and mighty nation. They have this spirit and the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. They have great ideals before them. They were privileged to enlist as soldiers in the cause of Indian freedom. They have to take stock of the position now.

Fortunately, we have escaped famine,² although there has been a great deal of scarcity and destitution. It is because the whole of India came to the rescue of Madras province that you were able to escape famine. Likewise, the imminent problem the North faces, such as the refugee problem, can be solved only by the cooperation of the South. If we face dangers together they become less acute. If we share our burdens alike, they become less severe.

1. Speech at Coimbatore, 3 June 1948. Based on reports in *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 4 June 1948.

2. In 1947, owing to the failure of the north-east monsoons, the rice and millet crops failed, causing acute shortage of food in the Madras Presidency.

So far as India is concerned it is going to be a modern state. It means a secular state not tied to any religion. If Pakistan is going to be an Islamic state it is for the people of Pakistan to decide. But one thing I am sure of is that no state today can exist for long as a non-secular state unless it is a backward and non-progressive state.

I want India to be a progressive and fast-moving state, growing from one objective to another and raising not only the standard of living of the millions of people but their moral and spiritual quality.

I must make a mention about the soldiers of South India who have gone to the far north to fight for India and for Kashmir's freedom. Soldiers of the Madras Regiment have won extraordinary admiration from those who had seen them both in Kashmir and in Delhi during the recent communal disturbances.³ They functioned well in many ways. They functioned efficiently and bravely in spite of many difficulties. These soldiers acted in an impartial and non-communal way. That helped in restoring peace in Delhi. This was an example of all-India unity.

Coimbatore has been the scene of industrial strife recently.⁴ I have not gone into it deeply. I am not qualified to express any opinion. When industry is hit, production suffers. If production suffers for a long time, then there must be something wrong somewhere. Whoever is responsible for this loss of production is guilty of the most serious offence against the nation. In future, we must find ways and means to prevent it. If the textile industry in the country cannot function effectively for the good of all, it will have to be nationalized.

Recently, we have partially removed controls.⁵ When we have controls, black-marketeering flourishes. When controls are removed, prices still go up. Everybody seems to profit at the cost of the unfortunate consumer and the Government. Some way will have to be found to check this profiteering. I wish people, whether they are workers or owners or managers of factories, to appreciate that the Government cannot possibly permit a state of affairs to continue which interferes with the general welfare of the people. In the past, workers did not get a fair deal but the conditions are now improving. We will have

3. Raised in 1746, the Madras Regiment had refused to take up arms against Indians in 1857 and as a result the regiment was disbanded and some of its units dispersed. It was re-formed after independence.
4. Twenty three thousand workers of all the textile mills in Coimbatore struck work from January to April 1948 to protest against the implementation of the recommendations of a standardization committee which prescribed a higher work-load, necessitating retrenchment of 11,200 workers. A time-loss of 1,888,612 man-days and a wage-loss of Rs. 4,586,192 was estimated as a result of the strike.
5. On 10 December 1947, the Government announced progressive decontrol of foodgrains with provinces and States reducing gradually their commitments under rationing and controlled distribution. But existing controls, in respect of rice, wheat and millet, were to continue.

something to distribute only when the production goes up. Therefore, workers must not hamper production. If there are conflicts between capital and labour let us devise suitable machinery for impartial adjudication. If, in spite of this, an amicable settlement cannot be reached, I do not see any other alternative but for the state to step in and run that industry. No state can tolerate exploitation of the general public through price rise. I, therefore, appeal to the management and workers to prevent this.

I want both capital and labour to establish cordial relations and to increase production in the country. Only by more production, the wealth of the nation can be increased and the lot of the common man improved.

I want the people of Madras province to pull together. They have great intellectual qualities. They must put an end to the harmful tendency that is injuring their cause. They should not lower themselves by engaging in petty conflicts. I thank the people of Coimbatore for the love and affection shown to me. I do not know how to repay their love. I am almost overwhelmed. I thank the Mill Owners' Association for their contribution, which I will pass on to Dr. Rajendra Prasad.⁶ I hope your work will not end with this contribution.

6. The South India Mill Owners' Association presented a cheque for Rs. 10 lakhs for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. Rajendra Prasad was Chairman of the provisional committee of the Fund.

8. Responsibilities of a New Nation¹

Brothers and Sisters,

The radio might have its advantages and disadvantages but at least it is teaching punctuality to the Delhi Congress Committee. They are very anxious that I should begin exactly at 6.31.

When I was invited to speak at today's meeting, I accepted with pleasure. I was told that some volunteer groups were working very hard for peace and that I should also speak in that connection. All right, I am always prepared to speak for peace. But the fact is that my speech alone cannot do much to spread peace. If there is peace in your hearts, it will spread and if there

1. Speech at a public meeting in Delhi, 6 June 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi.)

isn't, it will not. I accept both. But I agreed to come here today because it is a long time since I had the opportunity of presenting myself before the people of Delhi and of speaking to them. I consider it my duty to periodically put before you the problems of the nation so that you may also realise what we have to deal with. I know that most of you read your newspapers and gain awareness—much of it is correct, and sometimes wrong information too is to be had from newspapers. But even so, the people of a free nation ought to understand not only their immediate problems but those complicated problems which confront the country and also to a certain extent the world too. Especially the citizens of Delhi, our capital city, ought to have a better awareness than others in these matters. Therefore, it is proper that I should put the picture before you so that you may be able to understand your own problems in the context of wider problems. There is grave danger in making a mountain out of a molehill without understanding the true dimensions of a problem.

So it is proper that I should tell you something. But there are many difficulties in it. When I was not holding any office of special responsibilities, I could speak with more freedom but complications arise when I have a special responsibility. Many things happen in the course of the daily routine and it is not considered proper to divulge them immediately. Take, for instance, the fighting in Kashmir which you and I know about. Our forces are showing great courage there. It is possible that occasionally you may feel impatient as to why the whole thing is not being solved immediately. I would like to tell you, first of all, that the manner in which our armed forces, our officers and men, and the Air Force have functioned in Kashmir has enhanced the prestige of our country and our armed forces tremendously. And if there is delay in solving the problem, it is because the issue is extremely complicated. Heavy fighting is going on there even now. It is obvious that I cannot show you a map and explain what the exact position is, what the difficulties are, because that will impede the work being done by our forces. These matters cannot be openly discussed during war time.

Hyderabad is yet another problem which has been bothering us for a long time. Much has been said about that and will be said in future too. At this very time when I am standing here talking to you, some people have arrived from Hyderabad and are perhaps even now holding talks. So I am in a quandary as to how much I should tell you and what I should withhold because it is obvious that while talks are being held, it is not possible to give you a long explanation simultaneously. But even then I would like to inform you as far as possible. More than that I would like you to examine again for yourself the basic realities which, if forgotten, can be dangerous, as often we do forget them.

There was a time when the task before us was completely straightforward, that of getting independence for India, and so we concentrated on that. If

we stumbled and fell, we used to get up and go forward again. Nobody complained, people spent a life-time in jails, bore innumerable hardships without a word of complaint, nor was there any question of seeking relief, because we were not doing all that for a reward. We marched ahead steadily in spite of great difficulties. There were no great mental dilemmas involved in that task. The path was a straight one and we kept traversing it, whatever the result. But when a country becomes free, it has to take on certain responsibilities and tackle a thousand problems. It is right that the people chosen by you for high offices should shoulder those responsibilities and you have the right to question the way they fulfil them. If they do wrong, it should be pointed out and if they still persist in wrong-doing, remove them and put other people in their place. This is how independent countries function so that people may understand the problems, give their opinion and choose their representatives to tackle those problems.

It is our misfortune that, immediately after independence, problems of such magnitude and complexity arose. These problems were perhaps unparalleled in the history of any new government in the world. You are aware of the havoc that they caused. The old problem of India's poverty already loomed large. On top of it this storm broke out when we were called upon to help millions of people. As a result, the really big questions which needed to be tackled were relegated to the background and the new ones began to loom large. It became impossible for us to take even one step forward till we had found a solution for these new problems.

So these were some of the crises that we faced and to some extent succeeded in resolving them. It is obvious that we have not been wholly successful. But our efforts continue. It is possible that if there had been wiser people with more alert brains in our place, they might have tackled them better. The fact is that our governmental machinery, here in Delhi and elsewhere, is very complicated and in the war years its functioning had become such that though it did good work, it is almost impossible to change it now. I would like to tell you that one of the big problems before us is how to change the mode of functioning of the Government fundamentally in order that it may work faster and more efficiently. The whole governmental machinery is large and extremely complex. As you know it is not like an emperor sitting on a throne and issuing orders so that the work gets done at once. These days the democratic and bureaucratic machinery together make things so complex that it is not even possible to know what is really happening. It takes a long time to implement decisions. These things make me very impatient—these delays and obstacles are frustrating but I am helplessly tied down by this machinery and it becomes difficult to get out of it. So one of the big questions before us is how to change the functioning of the bureaucratic machinery of the Government of India and improve interdepartmental relations, etc., so

that it may work faster. The old ways of the Viceroy's Council in which each department functioned as a separate unit still continue and have to be changed. The cabinet form of government of today cannot function in the old way but has to work together as one unit, keeping the entire picture of India before it. In the old days, only the Viceroy had the full picture and he had the right to do as he liked, right or wrong. Now that is done with and the new order is the cabinet form of government. We meet often for discussions and consultations but unless this machinery itself is changed, the new order cannot work very easily. This is a big complication. The difficulty is that man learns these things by experience and after the loss of a great deal of time and that is how we are also learning. It takes time to understand what should be done and how things ought to be done. These are the problems which every nation faces. Every nation has to consider how to change the mode of functioning of its government so that work may get done faster and more efficiently. Take the economic questions, for instance, which are directly linked with the daily lives of the people of India, whether they be farmers or factory workers or shopkeepers. Just now these problems are being dealt with in separate compartments. If we want to bring about fundamental changes in the economic life of the people, then we have to keep the full picture before us and work for it. Then the problem arises as to from which angle the picture should be viewed. We have to form a Planning Commission, and ministries for economic and social affairs have to be established so that the problem can be considered in its totality instead of going ahead in one area while we are being pulled down in another. This is our basic task. I mentioned to you just now that, apart from these things, the upheaval of partition and its aftermath resulted in rendering millions of people homeless and jobless and they also suffered the loss of all their worldly possessions. Their welfare and rehabilitation became a tremendous problem. We succeeded very largely in dealing with it though as you know innumerable people were killed in the holocaust. But about fifty million people were transferred very rapidly from one side to another. Immediately the problem of looking after them, feeding them, etc., arose. Camps were organized. But the third and most complicated problem was their rehabilitation, and finding jobs, lands, occupations, etc., for them. This was much more complex and difficult than even the creation of Pakistan.

There are many forces at work which weaken India, like communalism, and provincialism, and I am amazed to see that each province feels as if it is a separate country and there is an uproar if even a part of one province is added to another. We have to consider carefully what is likely to lead to the happiness and welfare of the people and follow that path. In an independent country, the boundary lines between provinces have no great importance because the country after all is one with one form of government, the same laws, etc., and there are no restrictions on movement anywhere. Whether you

are in Delhi or two miles inside the Punjab or in the U.P., there can be no difference in your status, occupation, work, life, or in the laws that govern your lives, etc. But even then these matters generate great heat all over the country. I am just coming from Madras where there was an uproar over whether a small part of the province should be transferred or not.² In Bengal, some people have chosen this moment to demand vociferously that two districts of Bihar should be given to Bengal.³ Now that is a matter entirely for the people of those districts to decide. But nobody pauses to think that both the provinces are in India, with the same laws, same form of government, with no restrictions on movement, people can go anywhere and pursue any vocation they like. So I cannot understand all this heat over the matter of small bits of territory of one province or another. It would be better if we considered these matters with calm minds. And to bring up this matter now when India is facing such grave problems does not seem very wise. This will strengthen the forces which lead to divisions in the country. Just now the basic question before India is to strengthen it politically and to increase unity in the country, because, apart from the fact that this is essential, India will be able to solve her problems only when she is strong. She can face the world and her external and internal enemies only by becoming strong herself. There is no other way in which she can solve her problems, so it is of great importance that, however good a particular thing may be, we have to first measure it by the yardstick of how far it helps to increase India's internal strength. If it weakens the country, then even a good thing becomes bad for the time being because it cannot work and will create obstacles in the way of other achievements too. So I want you to consider these matters from all these angles.

I see that the principles stressed by Mahatma Gandhi during the course of a long freedom struggle lasting about forty years are being forgotten very quickly by the people. It is a little over four months since Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated in this very city of Delhi. You may remember that when it happened, not only Delhi and India but almost the whole world came to a standstill out of grief. It was a great shock. There has been no other incident in the history of the world till today which has created such a powerful impact. Anyhow, all of us in the country have naturally been affected. But, in spite of that, I observe, how quickly we are slipping away from those basic tenets which he placed before us and built up this country. We call him the Father of the Nation and rightly too. Today's India is his creation and our freedom is a gift from him. And yet, a son of India killed him and there were many people in India who have approved of this, though not open-

2. Some representative citizens of the Nilgiris had protested against the move of the Madras Government to merge the district with Coimbatore and Malabar.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 5, p. 163.

ly, but certainly in their hearts. That person is going to be tried in Delhi. Anyhow, whatever that may be, we have to search our hearts to see if we are following those principles which Mahatma Gandhi had put before the nation, which made us strong, enhanced the status of even ordinary folk like the peasant, worker, shopkeeper, etc., in the eyes of the world, unified us and we learnt to set aside trivialities and to follow great ideals and principles. This is very important because however much we may change superficially—and time will change us—we cannot change our basic principles. Even if we want to make any fundamental changes, we will have to do it only after careful consideration. As far as I am concerned, apart from the fact that I have taken a pledge before you and others that I will follow those principles, it is my conviction that if India is to progress, grow and become a great nation, it can only be done by following those principles. One gentleman here asked me that I should get the dancing houses in Delhi closed. Certainly I will have them closed down but I am not very familiar with them, so I cannot give any opinion on that—perhaps our brother here knows them more intimately. But as I was telling you, I would like to point out how dangerous it is to get stuck with small problems which have no relevance. The larger picture gets blurred. The big question before you is whether we are going to follow our basic principles or not. The world of today is a dangerous sea of fierce monsters which would devour everyone. It is the duty of every nation to strengthen itself in every way, militarily, economically, etc., to protect itself. But whatever our military strength may be, the real strength of a nation is the ability to work in unity, to maintain a few principles and to march ahead hand in hand with everyone, and without this, military strength alone will not take a nation very far.

We challenged a great power, the British Government, without an army or weapons. We fought them unarmed with other methods. How? Because we had generated that real strength in the country under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi and the other great leaders in the country, before which even the biggest armies had to bow down. I am amazed that these days when the government is in our hands, we have an army, air force, navy and every possible force behind us and yet people are much more scared and afraid, compared to those times when the armed forces were ranged against us and only our brave hearts gave us support. Why is this strange thing happening? This is a matter for our consideration why we are forgetting the basic principles which gave us strength when we were fighting a mighty empire. We will have to keep our armed forces, for there is no other way in the world of today, and, if necessary, we will expand them. But please remember that the real strength has to come from within ourselves. If we get bogged down in trivialities and follow a path which weakens us, makes us bitter and suspicious of one another, then even the biggest army in the world cannot help us.



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF BHUBANESWAR, 13 APRIL 1948



SIGNING A COPY OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY FOR THE ARMENIAN
CATHOLIC LIBRARY, NEW DELHI, 4 MAY 1948

It will weaken the armies too. It is up to the people to make themselves strong by setting principles to follow. So, nowadays all over India there are disruptionist and separatist tendencies. We have to be particularly vigilant against them, even if they are traditional forces.

As you know, recently we adopted a resolution in the Assembly in Delhi and proclaimed to the whole world that we will under no circumstances tolerate communalism but combat it.⁴ Enough harm has been done to the nation by communalism so much so that it lost a part of itself. Now we shall no longer tolerate it in India, nor will we accept such a party and help it in any way. In spite of that it is a matter of regret that such voices are heard even now, often raised by responsible people though they do not speak in a responsible way. They fail to understand that in India of today if anyone raises such communal or religious issues and follows those narrow paths, then decidedly he will come to harm. I have no doubt at all that if an organisation demands its rights as a communal organisation or on religious grounds, then the result will be that first of all, they will not get those rights because we have seen enough of the harm it can do and, secondly, even if they get something, they will erect a barrier around themselves and isolate themselves from the rest of India. That will weaken them because those barriers will imprison them and they will be unable to get out and make progress. India is a large country where everyone has the freedom to make as much progress as he can according to his capacity. But if you adopt the way of communalism, it will harm you as well as the country.

Therefore we have to realise the fundamental thing that whatever might have occurred during the British rule—and the British practice was to play off these communal organisations one against the other—which might have benefited a few people sometimes though not in any fundamental way—there can be no advantage in following such a path in these modern times because its only result is to increase tension and bitterness among us. So you have to help in putting an end to this completely because if an individual or a group or community has to progress in India, except in an odd case, that is possible only if the community makes progress. Your individual life and mine is tied up completely with India's progress.

So we have made efforts. We were lenient or strict, as the occasion required. We made preparations for fighting, got our armed forces ready and, at the same time, made every possible effort to solve this problem by peaceful methods. Even if it takes a few months longer, this is better because those who resort to methods of violence, the problem may be solved more

4. On 3 April 1948, the Constituent Assembly passed a non-official resolution urging elimination of communalism and calling upon the Government to take all legislative and administrative steps to prevent communal organisations from engaging in political activities.

quickly by fighting, etc., but the other problems that it creates take years to solve. These are the complexities and we are making all possible efforts to solve the problem. But as I told you, there are two things that we simply cannot tolerate. One is that the people of Hyderabad State should continue to live in bondage, in a kind of serfdom, as in the past. They should also be independent like the rest of India and their government must be a responsible one. Secondly, Hyderabad cannot have the freedom to join another country. We will not tolerate it because apart from everything else, it is not safe for our country that a State situated right in the heart of India should be completely free to establish relations with other countries. That is absolutely impossible. I am quite clear in my mind about this.

The one great problem before us, as I mentioned to you earlier, is the refugee problem. It is very important because it involves the livelihood of thousands of people. It involves the problem of finding homes for them and getting them work. I mentioned to you right in the beginning that I am not at all convinced that we, on our part,—and I include myself—have handled this problem properly. We have made great efforts but there have been several odd difficulties in the way. Anyhow, the question is what we should do now. We are making a few changes in the arrangements made for them. I want that we should make an effort, especially in the next few months, to solve these problems of work and shelter for them with the help and cooperation of the selected representatives of the refugees. We have done this earlier too. We consulted them, took their advice and, as a result, gained by it. But I now want to increase our effort in that direction. You may criticize us and many of your criticisms of our government may be justified and some may be wrong too. But we cannot solve any problem by entering into an argument about that. The question before us is how we should go about solving this great problem. There are great difficulties no doubt but I feel ashamed to admit that not many new houses are being built in Delhi. Some are coming up near Kingsway Camp, and land is being distributed, and I hope that in ten or fifteen days more houses will be built rapidly. All this is going on, but it is a shame that such a long time has gone by and yet hundreds and thousands of houses have not been put up. Instead, the old ones are under dispute. When so many people are involved, the only solution is to build new ones. But what can I say except that when the matter gets stuck in the bureaucratic machinery, it is almost impossible to disentangle it! There are constant complaints about scarcity of material, etc. Though I have a great deal of other work, I have attached great importance to this matter and taken a personal interest in it and I would like the help of the representatives of the refugees in this. Why? Many of you come to me for jobs. Many of you belong to my old legal profession—I don't know the exact figure but perhaps six to eight hundred lawyers have come here. My sympathies are with you. But, as you can

imagine, how can we provide employment immediately to hundreds of thousands of people? Some can be employed in the governmental machinery but if everyone wished to become a government servant, then there would be an end to all progress because they would all become non-productive consumers. They do not produce anything by which a country's wealth can increase. People come to me for jobs saying, "You are the Prime Minister, pass an order and we will get it." Now how am I to pass an order when the problem before me is that many people are already redundant in the Government of India, people who were recruited during the war years? How can we take on more? After all, if people who are redundant are kept in service, the burden falls on all of you and in consequence on the nation. So the Government cannot provide employment except in a few cases. We have to look for new avenues of work which will produce wealth for the country and for yourselves. So I want to help you to find them. You will appreciate that problems cannot be solved by issuing *firmands*. We can settle all the refugees only gradually, after careful thought and planning. You have to consider a very dangerous thing that is happening in the country, not so much in Delhi perhaps but it is happening on a very large scale in Bombay and elsewhere too—a tension between the refugees and the citizens of those places.⁵ It is harmful to both and the refugees must realize that by antagonizing the people, they will be reducing the number of people who are willing to help them. So we have to work together sensibly, because whether we are old residents or newly come refugees, all of us are citizens of India. When we are all in the same boat, any adversity will mean that all of us will flounder. If we start functioning on separatist lines, on religious or communal grounds, the ship of India will flounder and sink. You have to consider all these things carefully.

Looking at the world today, I can say that there is no immediate likelihood of a war. But the situation is very tense and all the nations are busily preparing for another war instead of learning a lesson from the previous war and trying to follow the path of peace. If, unfortunately, war breaks out, it is bound to affect India. We do not want to fight with anybody. But if a war does break out, how can we save ourselves, if we are not strong in every way, not only militarily but economically and politically too? We will be crushed. So our first task is to try to solve our economic problems, try to remove poverty and provide employment to people. All these plans which are being drawn up for river valley schemes, construction of dams and reservoirs to provide irrigation to the whole country, generation of electricity, opening of factories, etc., are basic to the progress of the country.

5. In March 1948, riots between Hindu refugees and local Muslim residents of Godhra in Bombay Province had resulted in the death of sixteen persons and injury to twenty-five. Over six hundred houses were burnt down, forcing many, both Hindu and Muslim, to migrate elsewhere.

continued in other countries after the war, but it has been brought under control. Take England, for instance. There was a great deal of corruption there during the war years but it has been brought under control in the last two or three years. The British are a very brave people and so they could bring it under control. I have also made a number of statements that black-marketeers should be punished, they should be hung by the lamp post, etc. But the fact is I feel a strange helplessness in the matter and am amazed at the sort of things that have been happening in the last few weeks since the control on cloth was removed. I don't know whom to absolve of guilt in this crime. Big factory owners, shopkeepers, railway employees and the other people are involved in it. A great deal of cloth is smuggled out to Pakistan which their government naturally does not like, though they need to purchase more cloth. We shall, of course, take steps, as it is our duty to do so, but ultimately we can succeed only with the people's cooperation. It cannot be done by mere government injunctions. We can stop bribery, corruption, smuggling, etc., only with the cooperation of the people. Otherwise the country will be ruined if hundreds and thousands of people indulge in corruption. The question however arises, how can a government or a nation function like this? It is for this reason that your cooperation and help are necessary.

Do you know what date it is today, 7th? No, 6th, yes, 6th. In another fortnight, our previous Governor-General who has been in office for the last year and a quarter is leaving. Our old colleague and leader, Sri Rajagopalachari, will become the Governor-General. He was here for a couple of days for consultations and went back today. His being with us will give me and my colleagues great moral support because, though the Governor-General does not legally have any special powers, Rajagopalachari is such a wise and experienced man that we can benefit by his advice. I would like to mention that though the 15th of August was a historic occasion, we opted for various reasons for Lord Mountbatten, the then Viceroy, to continue here for a few months. Initially the idea was that he shall continue here for six to eight months, till June, no, not June, but till March, and later on till June. Some people did not like this and they compared the situation with Pakistan where Jinnah had assumed office. So they felt, why should an Englishman continue here? Well, anyhow, it is not our habit to imitate Pakistan. But the intention with which we asked Lord Mountbatten to assume the Governor-Generalship here from the 15th of August, which was to avail of his help, has been fully justified during the last nine to ten months. I fought with the British Government for a long time. But I will certainly say that the last Viceroy and Governor-General has worked here and helped us in every possible way just like any of our Indian colleagues. He has always had India's honour and good at heart. So, it is obvious that we are marching ahead step by step.

Rajaji's taking over will not mean a big break. In a few days, the Constituent Assembly will have drafted our new Constitution and so we will reach our new goal. It is in the fitness of things that Lord Mountbatten should finish his work here and take up some other work. But he has been such a good colleague and a friend of India that all of us will be sad at the parting.

Well, I shall conclude now. But I would like to remind you that you and I have together to bear the burden of the tasks before us. One more thing. I talked about Lord Mountbatten. But I am sure the refugees, both men and women, in all the camps, not only in the Punjab, but in Kurukshetra or Kashmir or anywhere else, know full well how hard Lady Mountbatten has worked for them. She rushed about from place to place tirelessly. From the time that rioting and carnage began in Delhi till today, when there are only ten or twelve days left for her to go, she has continued her tours and is going to visit Kurukshetra again shortly.

Well, I would like to repeat that it is our joint responsibility. It applies to everyone in India, though it is specially true of the citizens of Delhi and I consider myself one among you because the eyes of everyone in India and the world are on our capital, because the ambassadors from all over the world are here, as also the newspapermen, and whatever happens in Delhi has an effect on the world. So we must avoid doing anything which will make us feel ashamed in the eyes of the world and constantly strive for the achievement of such objectives as will raise our stature in the world and help us raise our heads high. *Jai Hind.*

1. To B. G. Kher¹

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Kher,

A number of organisations have been banned recently by various provincial governments. I have not quite understood why the Bombay Government have put many restrictions on the activities of the Rashtriya Seva Dal²—I think that is the name, though I am not sure. This organisation, though it has somewhat drifted away from the Congress, has done very good work in the past and certainly is not communal. We have got a vast number of critics of our actions in the country and abroad and I feel that it will be a pity to add to them. I should like you, therefore, and your Government to consider this matter of the Rashtriya Seva Dal. Of course, you are in the best position to judge and I have no particular data. I am writing to you simply because I am rather worried at various developments which are rather isolating Congress and Congress Governments from a large body of public opinion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Rashtriya Seva Dal, founded in 1936, was a Congress volunteer organisation controlled at this time by the Congress Socialists. Its strength in 1946 was nearly 30,000 in Bombay alone. After independence it devoted itself to fostering national unity and organised drills, parades and lathi exercises for the youth.

2. The Congress without the Mahatma¹

We have all been comrades in the fight for freedom under the guidance of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. But Bapuji is now no more; he died at the hands of an assassin. For this assassination all of us should share the responsibility. If we had had strength and moral greatness, Gandhiji would not have been assassinated.

We are now confronted with many big questions. Whenever there were grave issues we used to go to Gandhiji for consultation. There is none

1. Reply to the address of welcome, Swaraj Ashram, Cuttack, 14 April 1948. From *New Orissa*, Berhampur, Gunjam District, 15 April 1948.

to give us advice now. We used to derive strength and inspiration even from the mere presence of Gandhiji. But no organisation or institution should depend on a single individual. That was what Gandhiji had told us.

It is, therefore, necessary to build up the organisation on a sound moral basis. We ought to banish communalism from our midst. We should check the growth of provincialism which has become another menace. We should tread the path laid down by Gandhiji, the path of love and nonviolence, as far as it is within our power. The mere attempt to do so will give us confidence.

You referred to me as *Senapati*, but the *Senapati* of the Congress should be a true successor of Gandhiji. There is no one as great as Gandhiji to shoulder the heavy burden.

I see peace here. Delhi has become a place for disputes. I have neither mental nor physical relaxation there even for a minute. I feel at home with my own comrades.

3. To O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar¹

New Delhi
16 April 1948

My dear Reddiar,

I understand that among the organisations that you have banned is the Rashtriya Seva Dal. This organisation was started in Maharashtra by Congressmen and became an important Congress volunteer organisation which did great service for the country. Recently there has been some conflict between the leaders of this organisation and the Congress Seva Dal.² But that has been an internal conflict between Congressmen and there has been no question of the Rashtriya Seva Dal functioning against the interests of the country. I was surprised, therefore, to learn that this organisation had been banned. It is possible that you did not have all the facts about the organisation.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The leaders of the Rashtriya Seva Dal criticised the Congress Seva Dal for resorting to semi-military drills in the name of cultivating discipline among its members.

I would suggest to you to consider the removal of this ban unless you may have some definite and precise evidence in your hands to the effect that this organisation is a dangerous one for the public.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
16 April 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichandji,

Certain speeches² of Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh,³ published recently in the press, have rather alarmed me. They seem to indicate that the Akali Sikhs, who have joined the Congress Party in East Punjab, have done so deliberately to gain particular communal objectives and it is stated that they will leave the Congress if their wishes are not fulfilled. This is an odd way for any Congressman to refer to the Congress. Indeed it may happen that a Congressman speaking in this way might render himself liable to disciplinary action.

I do not know all the facts and am only judging from such reports as I have read. I felt, however, that I should let you know how I feel about this matter. You will remember that we passed recently in the Assembly here a resolution to eradicate communalism.⁴ I earnestly trust that no

1. J.N Collection.

2. Tara Singh referred on 12 April to the "inevitability of war with Pakistan" and criticised the attitude of the Government towards the recovery of abducted women. He favoured suppression of the Communists, but not of the R.S.S. Giani Kartar Singh had said: "We have not decided to liquidate the Shiromani Akali Dal. It will maintain its independent existence to give a lead to the Panth on religious and political matters."

3. (1905-1974); elected to Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937, 1946 and 1957; General Secretary for many years and President in 1947 of Akali Dal; after independence he was in and out of both the Punjab Cabinet and the Akali Dal frequently.

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 80-84.

step will be taken in East Punjab which goes counter to the spirit or letter of this resolution.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Healing the Wounds of the Spirit¹

The tragic happenings that recently engulfed India have left the country still bleeding from those wounds. Physical ills are easily remedied, but our country's wounds are of the spirit and it will need our every effort to heal them.

I feel India is too large for any one man or any one group of people to administer. It is still treading on troubled paths and no citizen of the country can forget his duties or abandon his post. No section of the population can segregate itself and work for individual or party gains. The country, at this particular juncture, demands a common front to achieve its common goal of once again establishing peace and trust between divergent elements.

In the struggle for independence, we became a brave and fearless people. But, today, fear has again taken root in our hearts. This is not the result of any alien influence, but is one of our own creation, and has bred the distrust which is behind all our troubles.

The heart of the country has been hurt by communal frenzy and by the events following the attainment of freedom. It is the women of this country who can act as physicians to heal the wounds and thus lay the foundation of a society based on love, kindness and brotherhood, as preached by the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

Women can do great service to the nation by devoting themselves to nation-building activities, particularly in bringing about unity of hearts among people who have forgotten the path of righteousness and justice.

I appeal to you, therefore, to be vigilant and safeguard the freedom that we have won under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

1 Speech at a women's meeting in Bombay, 26 April 1948. Based on reports in *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*, 27 April 1948.

Mahatma Gandhi rendered great service to the cause of the uplift of women. Let us follow his teachings and courageously complete the task of building an ideal society.

The greatest contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the people of India is that he lifted the deadweight of fear from our hearts. As a result of Gandhiji's efforts and teachings even the dumb millions of India, peasants and workers, shed their fear and performed courageous deeds. They, no doubt, committed misdeeds occasionally.

Unfortunately, after India became free, people strayed from the path along which Gandhiji had led them and forgot the principles he had preached. Mutual hatred and intolerance reigned supreme. Many horrible deeds of violence were committed. The feeling of fear returned. It is a new kind of fear, mutual fear. They committed such acts because they feared that they were in danger from others.

Mahatma Gandhi strove his utmost to save the nation from the calamity that appeared imminent and sacrificed his life in the attempt. If we stray from the path he showed us it will lead us to disaster. We must, therefore, ponder over his teachings every day and resolve to act upon them.

6. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
26 April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have been watching from a distance developments in East Punjab politics. I confess that I have been distressed by them considerably. It is a good thing that the Akalis are joining or have joined the Congress, provided, of course, that this is not some artificial step without any real meaning.²

I must confess that I have little sympathy with either Congress group in East Punjab.³ I think both of them behaved in a very irresponsible way.

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.

2. In March 1948, the Akali Dal had decided to permit its 23 M.L.A.s to join the Congress unconditionally. Despite this merger, the Akalis continued to preserve the separate image of their party and pursued sectarian interests.

3. The Congress in East Punjab was divided between the groups led by Gopichand Bhargava and Bhimsen Sachar.

But quite apart from this question the fact remains that the Congress Party in the Legislature (apart from the Akali Sikhs) is split up into two halves which bitterly oppose each other. The result of this is that the Akali Sikhs are presumably masters of the situation.⁴

If the Akali Sikhs have really joined the Congress, well and good, and they have every right to influence Congress policy in the province. But recent speeches of Master Tara Singh⁵ and Giani Kartar Singh⁶ have thrown some light on the motive behind the Akalis joining the Congress. The motives, according to these speeches, are not very praiseworthy or straightforward. In fact threats are used and it is stated that if certain Sikh demands are not met, the Akalis will again leave the Congress. Giani Kartar Singh, who has recently joined the Congress Party and is even spoken of as a future minister, refers to the Congress in terms which no Congressman can use. Indeed, it might well become a question for disciplinary action if any Congressman functioned in this way within the Congress.

I do not know all the facts and you are in a much better position to judge. But I thought that I might place these considerations before you as you are dealing with the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The group leaders in the Congress pampered the Akalis in order to secure their support.
5. Tara Singh had said that the appointment of a few Sikh ministers and officers would not satisfy the Akalis. They wanted power and authority and if their ministers felt "as orphans dependent on the Congress or some other body", they could not be a source of strength.
6. Though Giani Kartar Singh said that the Akalis had joined the Congress unconditionally, he also said that the Akali Dal would maintain its independent existence and try to fulfil the hopes of the Sikhs.

7. End Communal Politics¹

I am happy I have been able to come and address the Jamiat in spite of my heavy programme. Not only in India but throughout the world people's

1. Address to the fifteenth session of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, Bombay, 26 April 1948. From *National Herald*, 28 April 1948.

minds are today exercised over issues of a fundamental nature. Much confusion has prevailed, though after every World War it had been thought that peace would prevail. This has, however, not been so.

India has changed greatly during the last seven or eight months. It has passed through times that have shaken it to its foundations causing wounds both to the body and to the soul. All this is the result of communal politics. It is again communalism in politics that led to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

That unhappy event opened the eyes of many people to the danger that had always been in their midst and brought about a searching of hearts. On the other hand, Pakistan openly says that it is a state based on religion. No doubt they also say that their minorities need have no fear, but how far this will happen politically is difficult to say.

In India too there are many communal-minded people, but the Congress has taken a path which is clear for all to see. The A.I.C.C. at its meeting in November last, under the inspiration and direct guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, took certain decisions,² keeping in view the difficulties that the Indian Muslims were experiencing.

The Congress has followed Mahatma Gandhi. The Constituent Assembly too had passed a resolution putting a ban on politico-communal organisations. The Congress desires that no Indian should think of himself as a Hindu, a Muslim or of any religious entity so far as politics is concerned. It is only in this way that the country can make any progress.

The executive committee of the Jamiat has already cleared the ground in the same direction³ and I trust that this session of the Jamiat will give finishing touches to the work.

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2. At the A.I.C.C. meeting in November 1947, Mahatma Gandhi had said that no Muslim in India should feel unsafe and that all Muslims who had left India under coercion should be brought back. He initiated two resolutions approved earlier by the Working Committee, one laying down the national policy to be followed by the Government on relief and rehabilitation and the other on the protection of minorities.
3. The Jamiat had met to ratify the decisions of its executive council on changes in its constitution and objectives so as to make it a non-political organisation.

8. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
1 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I do not know how matters are proceeding in regard to East Punjab. I am sure that with your advice some suitable arrangement will be made. There is however one matter which troubles me greatly. This is the possibility of Giani Kartar Singh being appointed a minister. Quite apart from his past record of anti-national activities he is a person who is not desirable or reliable from any point of view. I think the reputation of the Congress will go down if we make him a minister.² This will certainly irritate greatly many Congress elements not only in East Punjab but elsewhere. As it is we are accused of being pure and simple opportunists. That accusation would gather force.

I do not wish to interfere in any way in East Punjab matters and I shall, of course, abide by your decision. But I feel I might take the liberty of letting you know how I feel about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.
2. Kartar Singh was included in the reconstituted Cabinet on 11 June 1948.

9. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
2 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am rather worried at the number of reports that I have received from various quarters about the recrudescence of the R.S.S. in various forms

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 318.

and the growth of communal propaganda on their part. Unless this is dealt with at its very inception it may grow to dangerous proportions. The possible steps that we may have to take in regard to Hyderabad may well be affected by the communal situation. Therefore, it becomes even more necessary than otherwise for us to be vigilant in this matter.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

2. Patel replied to Nehru on 4 May that provincial governments had been warned about the danger of revival of R.S.S. activities and asked to take adequate preventive measures. He added that the acquittal of R.S.S. men in large numbers by the High Courts in U.P. and Bombay had increased the Government's difficulties.

10. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
7 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just seen Home Ministry's recommendations about the appointment of High Court Judges in the Calcutta High Court. I have nothing to say about most of these recommendations and I have passed them. One of these, however, has rather disturbed me. This is about N.C. Chatterjee.² You know, of course, about his very intimate connection with the Hindu Mahasabha. He has been the leading light of the Hindu Mahasabha and has played an important public part in its activities. Indeed he has been rather aggressive about them. I do not think that the fact of a person being in the Hindu Mahasabha should rule him out but I do feel that this appointment is in the nature of a political appointment more than anything else.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1895-1972); Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, 1940-44; Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1948-49; Senior Advocate, Supreme Court, 1952-57; President, Hindu Mahasabha, 1952-55; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and 1963-72.

Only last evening I saw, and you must have seen it, copy of a letter from Bhopatkar to Chatterjee. There is nothing very much in it but nevertheless it is a little significant in many ways.

I thought I had better draw your attention to this aspect of the question before it is finalised.³

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. On 10 May, Vallabhbhai Patel replied that, in consultation with the Chief Justice of India, Premiers were informed that appointments to High Courts should be based entirely on merits and there should be no communal or political considerations imported in such appointments. To reject N.C. Chatterjee on such grounds would not, therefore, be consistent with this principle. Ultimately he was appointed as a judge.

11. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a number of letters from you. You will forgive me if there is delay in answering them. I have been overwhelmed with work since my return. In any event I hope to see you soon. I propose to bring H.V.R. Iengar and Krishna Menon with me to Mussoorie. Krishna Menon is here just for a week or ten days for consultations. But there are one or two points which I might deal with immediately.

About the report of a purse of Rs. 10 lacs to be given to me at Coimbatore, I entirely agree with you. But I do not quite know what to do in the matter, if I am presented with purses at public meetings or otherwise. I received no information about this purse except a brief reference in a letter received this morning from the local Congress President.

Your letter of 18th May about the Congress Seva Dal.² I entirely agree with you and Rajendra Babu on this matter that there should be no ban on the Congress Seva Dal. Indeed I think the ban should be used sparingly and

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Patel had enclosed a letter from Rajendra Prasad which argued that the Government should not ban the Congress Seva Dal and that the ban should apply only to such volunteer organisations as could be used for military or semi-military purposes. Patel felt a distinction could be made on these grounds.

only on organisations known to be violent or communal. I am afraid our recent policy of banning organisations has had a very unfavourable reaction in foreign countries including England.³

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Some Labour Members of Parliament in England had criticised the action taken against trade unions and labour leaders by the provincial governments.

12. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I spoke to you in Simla about recent developments in eastern Punjab, more specially about the part that Master Tara Singh and some others are playing.² Since my return I have received further information on the subject and I am greatly worried. The newspapers are also referring to this in growing measure.

It seems to me quite clear that we cannot remain passive in face of these aggressive tactics of some of the Akali leaders, notably Master Tara Singh. It must be made perfectly clear to him that Government do not approve of some of his activities and there would be endless trouble if he persists in them. I think the Akali members of your Cabinet should take a lead in this matter. We cannot allow this danger to grow. I have read in the papers of a declaration about the charter of Sikh rights made recently at the Golden

J.N. Collection.

Tara Singh had criticised the Government's rehabilitation policy and wanted full land share for the refugees. He emphasised the need for the recovery of gurdwaras in Pakistan. He disagreed with the policy of Nehru on the question of weightage to the minority communities. He said that there were dangers ahead and that a war between India and Pakistan was inevitable. The questions of Hyderabad and Kashmir were serious and could not be settled without a war.

Temple.³ It seems to me that some of these Akali leaders are amazingly irresponsible. They cannot have it both ways, i.e., fight the Government as it is and cooperate with it in gaining certain advantages. Our Government wants to give a square deal to the Sikhs and will go as far as possible in this direction; indeed I just do not see why the Sikhs should worry at all. At the same time we are definitely committed not to tolerate communalism in any shape and if some of the Akalis continue functioning in a communal way, we shall not help them at all. We shall follow the resolution of the Constituent Assembly in this matter. I think this should be made perfectly clear to all concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The charter of the Sikhs, announced in mid-May 1948 in Amritsar, demanded (i) a Punjabi-speaking province with Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script as the official language and the medium of instruction in its schools and colleges; (ii) the dispute about gurdwaras left in Pakistan to be settled at an inter-Dominion round table conference; and (iii) in the Sikh States, at least 75% of the posts be filled by Sikhs and in the interim government a Sikh should be the Premier.

13. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
21 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I have your letter of the 14th May, No. 695-PAP, as well as the report dated 10th May made by the Deputy Commissioner,² Amritsar, regarding the recovery of arms and ammunition in Amritsar district.

I might make it clear, to begin with, that whatever action is taken was entirely on my own responsibility. Of course, normally, any such action should be taken through the provincial government. I thought about this matter carefully and in the circumstances decided that it would be better for the military to handle it directly. My own reason for doing so was that any

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sardar Bahadur Sardar Narinder Singh who later became a member of the Punjab Public Service Commission.

such action must necessarily embarrass the East Punjab Government and its officials and therefore it is better to save them from this embarrassment and take all the responsibility on the Government of India and the military.

Ever since the partition, the East Punjab Government has had to face tremendous troubles and problems. In effect it has been carried on financially and from the defence and military points of view by the Government of India. Even apart from this, the psychological and other help given by the Government of India has been great. Serious problems of defence are continually arising and they have to be dealt with on a top-secret level by our defence authorities. The question of the manufacture of arms and ammunition is a very serious one both from the political and defence points of view. We have laid the greatest stress on it in the past. It has been patent that such manufacture has gone on privately and secretly in East Punjab and I have written about it to your Government on some occasions. We have been greatly concerned about it.

I received repeated information and ultimately I asked some of our intelligence officers to investigate. Their report was a very detailed report of manufacture being carried on on a considerable scale in Tarn Taran at least. I have not the full report before me at present. There is no question of the manufacture having stopped at an early stage. Even if it had stopped the place should have been taken possession of by the police and it was surprising that the police and the local authorities had no knowledge of it. Having received this detailed report it was obvious to me that some action must be taken immediately and that action in order to be successful had to be absolutely secret. Any communications sent to various officials would have led to leakage. Further as gurdwaras were involved, local authorities would probably find difficulty in dealing with the problem. I decided, therefore, to refer the matter to the military authorities and asked them to take such action as they thought fit and proper. Further arrangements were made by them only.

In the result, information did leak out and no doubt this made some difference and many of the articles which could easily be removed had been removed. This presumably accounts for the absence of certain articles mentioned in the first report submitted to me. But even so it is significant that live bombs, parts of revolvers and much other material were found in a hidden place under a trap door. Further that actual smell of gun powder was noticed, as stated in the D.C.'s report, which showed that actual manufacture was being carried on. It is clear from these facts that this factory was a working factory and that if previous notice had not been given much more material might have been found. Even proceeding on the actual finds, they are extraordinary enough, it is surprising that such things should happen without any knowledge of the local police and authorities. This matter, I suggest, requires investigation on your Government's part.

The statement made that gurdwaras or temples or mosques should not be searched in any circumstances is one which can hardly be accepted. Normally, of course, this must not be done, but if these places of worship are being used for arms manufacture or some other equally illicit purposes, then surely a search is justified and indeed necessary, otherwise these places of worship could be converted to the most improper uses and even their sanctity would go.

There is hardly any question of distrust of the provincial government in such matters. One has inevitably to rely on the provincial governments for provincial work but where there is intense feeling among officers and others alike and where there is evidence of the kind that I have indicated above, it may be a wise move not to cast the burden on the provincial government.

A reference has been made in the report you have sent to a previous search which was condemned in your Assembly. I must confess that I was a little astonished at the attitude taken on behalf of the East Punjab Government and I am unable to agree with it. It was partly that attitude that led me to the conclusion that the East Punjab Government would not like to be embarrassed in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
29 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

We have received information from many sources that in the Amritsar district there is a widespread rumour amounting to belief that there will be big-scale trouble roundabout the 15th June when the Britishers are supposed

1. J.N. Collection.

to leave India finally. I believe that in the Pakistan side also there are similar rumours.² Nobody seems to know who started these rumours and what the exact nature of the trouble is going to be. Some say it is a conflict between India and Pakistan, others fear a Hindu-Sikh conflict.

I trust that your Government is taking all possible steps to contradict these rumours and to be ready for any possible trouble.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Government House, Lahore, had issued a communique on 26 May warning the panic-mongers.
3. In a statement on 2 June 1948, Gopichand Bhargava described the rumours as false and baseless.

15. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
6 June 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am greatly worried at the intemperate and highly objectionable effusions of Master Tara Singh. I have already drawn Dr. Gopichand's and Sardar Swaran Singh's attention to this in Simla. But instead of any improvement there has been a progressive deterioration.

Some time back you sent me a copy of a letter which, I think, you had addressed to Sardar Patel in regard to the Sikh problem. I read this with care and naturally we are all anxious to help in removing misapprehensions and giving a feeling of security. But I just do not see how the matter can be seriously considered even when people like Master Tara Singh continue holding forth threats and preaching a gospel of intense communalism to which we are publicly and officially opposed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

1. The Canal Waters Dispute

1. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 1361 dated 15th April regarding Upper Bari Doab Canal.² We understand from East Punjab Government that repeated attempts were made by them by telephone and telegram to West Punjab Government to consider problem of canal water supply as previous agreement expired on March 31st. There was no response from West Punjab Government. As conference is now being held in Simla to consider this problem, I trust satisfactory solution will be reached.³

1. New Delhi, 16 April 1948. File No. F (1)-S/48, Ministry of Irrigation. The partition had given India the control of the headworks of the Indus and its tributaries. On 20 December 1947, a standstill agreement was signed between India and Pakistan to continue the pre-partition supply of water to the Pakistan canals against payment for the maintenance of the Madhopur and Ferozepur headworks. The engineers of East Punjab several times in March 1948 reminded their counterparts in West Punjab to undertake negotiations, if they wished the supply of water to continue beyond 31 March. These reminders elicited no response. On 1 April the East Punjab Government discontinued the water supply.
2. Liaquat Ali objected to the stopping of water supply to the Upper Bari Doab and Divalpur canals by the East Punjab Government as it would have serious economic repercussions and requested Nehru for immediate restoration of the supply.
3. Replying on 24 April, Liaquat Ali said that West Punjab had both "inherent and prescriptive rights" to obtain water and such rights could not be interfered with because some agreement regarding incidentals had yet to be negotiated. He further said the terms of the proposed settlement offered to West Punjab had far-reaching consequences and would need to be discussed further at an inter-Dominion conference.

2. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
28 April 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I am greatly worried at the stoppage of canal water which used to flow to Lahore district. Whatever the legal and technical merits may be, there is little doubt that this act will injure us greatly in the world's eyes, and more specially when food production is so urgently needed everywhere. As you

1. J.N. Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

are perhaps aware, we have convened an inter-Dominion conference to consider this matter and your Government's representative will be coming to it.

There is another difficulty. I am told by our military authorities that owing to the stoppage of water there is too much water roundabout Pathankot and this is coming in the way of our building a bridge which is so urgently needed.

I have little doubt that water will have to be allowed in future because such stoppages cannot occur normally unless there is actual war. To stop water for the fields is supposed to be rather an inhuman act. I suggest to you, therefore, to consider this matter afresh. If we act with grace now (although it is getting rather late for it), we might get the benefit of it. Otherwise there will be no grace left and no benefit.

You will know best how to deal with this situation. If I may suggest a possible course, it is this : You may say that in view of the fact that an inter-Dominion conference is going to be held soon to consider this matter, your Government is permitting the flow of water for the time being as it is not your desire that the common people should suffer.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 18 April 1948, the Chief Engineers of the two Punjabs met in Shimla and concluded an agreement providing for the continued supply of water to the Pakistan canals for a limited period. It also recognised India's claim to the Upper Bari Doab Canal system and Ferozepur headworks as a result of the Radcliffe Award and the Instrument of Partition. The Pakistan Government, however, declined to ratify the agreement and called for a discussion at the inter-Dominion level.

3. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 1583, dated 28th April.² We are glad that your representatives are coming here on the 3rd May to discuss the question of supply of water from Upper Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals. Both Government of India and East Punjab Government are anxious that this matter

1. New Delhi, 29 April 1948. File No. 57/27/48-Poll., M.H.A.
2. Liaquat Ali stated that Ghulam Mohammed would be leading the delegation for the meeting scheduled to discuss the canal water issue on 3 May. He requested Nehru "to order the opening of supplies pending settlement of the entire question."

should be settled satisfactorily. Indeed as you know a settlement was arrived at recently between East Punjab and West Punjab engineers. We accepted that settlement, but West Punjab Government has thus far not accepted it. We can only proceed on the basis of that settlement so long as no other arrangement is arrived at at an inter-Dominion conference.

I have been sorry to notice that an official spokesman of West Punjab Government has made various charges against East Punjab Government which are completely without foundation.³ In particular his statement that Sardar Swaran Singh, Revenue Minister, East Punjab Government, gave an undertaking to West Punjab Government is untrue. However, I do not wish to enter into this argument except to make it clear that East Punjab Government has consistently tried to implement agreements arrived at and is anxious that no suffering or injury be caused to agriculturists. I have spoken to Premier, East Punjab, and in view of impending inter-Dominion conference he is agreeable immediately to issue orders for resumption of water supply from the Upper Bari Doab and Dipalpur Canals.⁴ It should be understood that this is on basis of agreement arrived at Simla recently subject to any variation which might be made at the inter-Dominion conference. Orders are being issued accordingly.

3. *Dawn* of 28 April 1948 reported the allegation made on 27 April by a spokesman of the West Punjab Government that the East Punjab Government was determined to harm the agricultural economy of Pakistan and had presented such severe terms as no self-respecting nation could accept. He was concerned at the threatened loss of crop and consequent unemployment among peasants.
4. The water supply was restored on 30 April 1948.

4. Nehru's Record of an Interview with Ghulam Mohammed¹

Mr. Ghulam Mohammed came to see me this evening. He was alone. He spoke to me about the canal water dispute between East and West Punjab and said that to his great regret the inter-Dominion conference today had suddenly broken up. The conference, he said, was proceeding calmly and cooperatively and an attempt was being made to find a way out of the difficulties. Mr. Gadgil was helpful. At a later stage however Dr. Ambedkar

1. New Delhi, 3 May 1948. J.N. Collection.

intervened and laid down the law rather harshly and brusquely. Dr. Ambedkar would consider no interim arrangement and insisted that the legal position as maintained by the East Punjab Government must be accepted or else there could not even be a temporary agreement.

2. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed had suggested that in view of a conflict of opinion about certain legal aspects the matter might be referred to arbitration. This proposal was rejected and ultimately Mr. Gadgil put an end to the conference.

3. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed told me that he was greatly distressed at this and he was eager to find some way out of the impasse. He was not in a position to accept the legal formula which the East Punjab Government had advanced because of its far-reaching consequences. The subject was a difficult and complicated one and he was not lawyer enough to say much about it. He suggested therefore that without prejudice to the position taken up by either party, a provisional agreement might be arrived at so that water should be supplied by the East Punjab Government and paid for by the West Punjab Government. Meanwhile, experts and others could consider the question in all its details and implications. This could not injure either party's rights in any way. He was particularly concerned about the effect of any agreement on the riparian rights of rivers flowing from East Punjab. As the agreement would be without prejudice to the contentions of either party, and, meanwhile, *ad hoc* payments could be made, it would be a tragedy to stop the water and increase bitterness all round leading to further unfortunate consequences. He suggested that the Prime Minister of Pakistan would come here for further talks as soon as possible.

4. I told Mr. Ghulam Mohammed that I was not fully seized of all the facts of the case and had not yet seen the relevant papers. But it seemed to me that after the provisional agreement which ended on March 31st and the Arbitral Award, the rights in the canal headworks and the water vested completely in East Punjab. No doubt East Punjab should continue to supply water subject to the terms of any agreement. To challenge that fundamental right created a difficulty as the East Punjab Government thought that they would be put in a false position by submitting to that challenge. Again it might be easy to supply surplus water. But when water was relatively scarce the question would arise as to who should get it and in what quantity. In the arrangement of the canal system in the past the West Punjab area had been favoured and certain districts of East Punjab had suffered greatly. Hissar and other districts had suffered from famine repeatedly. It was natural for the East Punjab Government to desire to supply more water to

Hissar and other neighbouring districts. If this was to be done West Punjab would inevitably suffer a lack from this source. It was for West Punjab to make alternative arrangements. These arrangements would no doubt take a little time and East Punjab would try to supply water to the best of its ability during this intervening period.

5. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed said that this matter was actually being discussed in the conference and Mr. Gadgil had appeared to favour some such solution when Dr. Ambedkar put an end to such discussions. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed agreed that West Punjab should make its own arrangements and it may be that when these arrangements were completed East Punjab might be entitled to put an end to the arrangements to supply water.

6. I said if this was so, then it was obvious that East Punjab had the fullest right over the supply of water. If they could stop it after a certain period, then that right was there even now, subject, it may be, to humanitarian and other reasons which made it desirable to supply water till other arrangements were made. The legal position now was clear and East Punjab's contention was justified.

7. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed pointed out that in calculating the value of the canal system the Arbitral Tribunal had taken present prices which were much more than original prices. They had valued the canal system and the headworks accordingly and West Punjab had been made to pay for that canal system. If East Punjab could stop the water for two canals then obviously those canals were completely useless and had no value left. Hence it could not be maintained that water should be stopped. Apart from this it was most unreasonable to allow water to flow into the sea when it could be used for agricultural and other human purposes.

8. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed repeatedly said that he could not argue the legal point, but when West Punjab is prepared to pay for the water he could not understand the difficulty of arriving at a provisional agreement without prejudice to either party's contention. In the course of a month or two the matter could be examined fully by competent experts; also, that the real difficulty was not the canal water but the riparian rights of rivers.

9. I told Mr. Ghulam Mohammed that the real difficulty was the fear on either side of accepting a legal position which might be disadvantageous. This related to the seignior rights. As a matter of fact Bikaner etc., who were taking water from these canals, paid a certain sum for these rights and there seemed to me no particular difficulty in West Punjab agreeing to this. In any event it might be possible to come to an arrangement under which

the amount due to East Punjab from West Punjab on account of seignior dues might be deposited somewhere, for instance, in the Reserve Bank, pending a final settlement of the other sums to be paid to East Punjab. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed indicated that he might be willing to agree to this as he was anxious to remove this great cause of friction on which both the East and West Punjab Governments felt so strongly and which affected the lives of a million and half people in West Punjab.

10. I asked him if he accepted the other figures which had been agreed by the respective engineers. He said that those engineers were not competent to consider financial matters. They had been confronted with a document by the East Punjab engineers and they had ultimately signed it subject to agreement in regard to these controversial clauses by their respective governments. While he did not accept those amounts mentioned he thought there would be no great difficulty in arriving at some figures. In any event *ad hoc* payments could be made pending further consideration. The main point was that all this would be completely without prejudice to each party's contentions, and that suitable payments could be made. Further that a sum might be set aside for seignior dues pending a final decision. All these not to apply to riparian matters.

11. I told Mr. Ghulam Mohammed that I had spoken to him without a brief, but I proposed to look into the papers. I have asked him and some of his colleagues to see me tomorrow afternoon.

5. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

I draw your attention to the Inter-Dominion Agreement arrived at on 4th May² regarding the dispute between East and West Punjab on the subject

1. New Delhi, 18 May 1948. File No. 57/27/48-Poll., M.H.A.
2. The Government of India agreed to put aside the dispute about the legal rights of parties and signed the Inter-Dominion Agreement on 4 May 1948, which conferred no advantage on India, but gave to Pakistan all the water she needed as a matter of urgency in return for the deposit of the small sum of Rs. 1.2 million a year in escrow with the Reserve Bank of India.

of canal waters. I had fully hoped that, pending the examination referred to in Para 6³ of the joint statement issued on the 7th May, matters would be allowed to take a normal course. East Punjab Government had given an earnest of their desire for friendly settlement by letting the waters flow into West Punjab even before the inter-Dominion conference. I have now received reliable information that West Punjab Government have begun digging a channel with a view either or both to connect river Sutlej with Dipalpur Canal or divert the course of Sutlej at Ferozepur. I am informed that bulldozers are already working on the site, on the right side of the river just above Ferozepur where the river lies in loop by the Pakistan territory and that large labour force has been collected and the work has started in earnest. Should West Punjab complete this work it would cause a disaster for the Ganga Canal Colony in Bikaner State. East Punjab Government would not be able to feed their canal throughout the winter and in the event of digging of special channel by West Punjab, there is possibility of river emulsion and the result would be that East Punjab will not be able to feed their canal even during summer.

In view of the gravity of the issues involved and their urgency, the East Punjab Premier sent a wireless message to Premier, West Punjab Government. He has, however, been told in reply that this is a matter which should be taken up between the two Dominions.

I must ask that the matter be taken up immediately. Ghulam Mohammed will tell you that as a result of prolonged discussions conducted in a very friendly spirit we were able to arrive at a satisfactory provisional agreement. The whole of this will be upset if West Punjab persist in the course, which is reported to me, they have taken. Any action of this sort taken by West Punjab Government unilaterally would, I need scarcely tell you, have very grave repercussions.

I shall be grateful for a very urgent reply as to whether the information I have received is correct, if not what the facts are.

3. "After an examination by each party of the legal issues, of the method of estimating the cost of water to be supplied by the East Punjab Government and of the technical survey of water resources and the means of using them for supply to these canals, the two Governments agree that further meetings between their representatives should take place."

I have not yet received a reply to my telegram Primin No. 1179 dated 8th May addressed to Ghulam Mohammed regarding the deposit of money in Reserve Bank.⁴ Would you please have this expedited?

4. Nehru had requested that a sum of Rs. 30 lakh be deposited in the Reserve Bank, Amritsar, as charges for the period from 15 August 1947 up to the end of the current quarter ending in June for the maintenance of the Madhopur Head-works and carrier channels.

6. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

I shall be grateful for an urgent reply to my telegram No. Primin 1217 dated the 18th May regarding the digging of a new channel in West Punjab.² There have been further reports since then of the active part taken by West Punjab Ministers in this matter. All these reports have caused the greatest uneasiness to us and the East Punjab Government.

1. New Delhi, 21 May 1948. File No. F. (1)-S/48 (I.T. Section), Ministry of Irrigation.
2. See the preceding item.

7. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Your telegram No. 1922, dated 22nd May.² Last inter-Dominion conference resulted in clear and signed agreement about supply of water and procedure to be followed in future. No mention was made then of this new scheme of West Punjab Government which vitally affects the whole question

1. New Delhi, 23 May 1948. File No. 57/27/48-Poll., M.H.A.
2. Zafrullah Khan said that prior to the Delhi talks, the West Punjab Government had initiated a scheme for digging a channel within Pakistan territory for connecting Sutlej with the Dipalpur Canal to ensure a continuous water supply. Pakistan had "absolute right to take adequate precautionary measures to meet all eventualities". However, the Pakistan Government was prepared to obtain an assurance from West Punjab that "marginal embankment will not be cut unless East Punjab Government again discontinue water supplies."

of canal water supply to both parties. I am surprised that this fact should have been kept away from us when this very matter was being discussed. There is no point in inter-Dominion agreements if they can be bypassed in this way.

You will appreciate that if West Punjab Government digs new channels which inevitably must cut across marginal embankments then East Punjab Government must also take precautionary measures which may result in tapping Sutlej waters higher up. This will adversely affect West Punjab interests and we are loath to embark on any such undertaking unless circumstances compel us. This process of mutual retaliation can only injure both parties and is entirely opposed to the spirit of our agreement. If any steps have to be taken by West or East Punjab Government this should first be considered at inter-Dominion or inter-Provincial conference in terms of inter-Dominion agreement otherwise that agreement has no value. I trust, therefore, that no further steps will be taken till full discussion between parties concerned. I shall be glad to have an urgent assurance to this effect. I have not seen report of Sardar Partap Singh's speech,³ but there is and should be no connection whatever between supply of water and exchange of prisoners, though the sooner this is completed the better. I would remind you that this was stopped for a totally irrelevant reason by West Punjab Government.

3. Partap Singh Kairon was reported to have said that the water supply to Dipalpur canals would be discontinued if the exchange of prisoners was not effected promptly.

8. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Reference your telegram No. 2125 dated June 4th.² Bahawalpur State distributory of Eastern Grey Canal is a non-perennial channel and does not run during *rabi* season. In April 1948 East Punjab engineers enquired from West Punjab engineers whether any arrangements were desired to supply water to this distributory after the expiry of the Standstill Agreement on the

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1948. File No. 57/27/48-Poll., M.H.A.
2. Zafrullah Khan complained that the water supply to the Bahawalpur State distributory of the Eastern Grey canal, which took off from the Ferozepur headworks, had been stopped and so no water was received for the *rabi* season. He requested Nehru to ask the East Punjab Government to renew the supply immediately.

31st March 1948 but were informed that West Punjab was not interested. Similarly in the discussions at Delhi which preceded the Inter-Dominion Agreement of May 4th, 1948, no mention was made of any requirements of water for this distributory, although Khan Bahadur Abdul Aziz, Chief Engineer, Bahawalpur, was actually present at these meetings.

No water is now being supplied to this distributory. We regret that we cannot enter into any further commitments till the outstanding differences regarding the Inter-Dominion Agreement are settled.

9. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Your telegram No. 1973 of May 26th.² I did not reply to this because of the proposed discussion in Delhi on June 5th. Now that this discussion has been postponed to June 15th, I must draw your attention again to serious consequences flowing from the digging of the new channel by West Punjab Government. I am glad to have your assurance that you fully intend to implement the Inter-Dominion Agreement of May 4th. But that agreement itself laid down that any action taken by either West or East Punjab Government affecting the other Government should be after mutual consultation. Thus the unilateral decision by West Punjab to dig new channel is against letter and spirit of that agreement and strikes at the very root of our common approach to these problems which concern the livelihood of millions of people on either side. This new channel endangers the safety of the Ferozepore Headworks and may lead to stoppage of supply of water to our canals taking off from these Headworks.

2. Your offer to obtain an undertaking from West Punjab Government that marginal embankment will not be cut until there is further stoppage of water does not help at all. This will not prevent mischief by flood waters operating through the new channel. There is also the possibility of mischievous elements deliberately damaging the embankment of the Ferozepore

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1948. File No. F(1)-S/48 (I.T. Section), Ministry of Irrigation.
2. Zafrullah Khan held that the digging of the new channel was "not a retaliatory, but precautionary measure which will come into operation only if there is a failure of inter-Dominion arrangements." He assured Nehru that Pakistan would abide by the arrangements and that the West Punjab Government would deposit Rs. 30 lakh in the Reserve Bank at Amritsar.

Headworks with a view to create difficulties between the two Dominions. The possibility of all this happening rather suddenly and thus causing enormous loss and misery to millions is one which no Government can view with equanimity. Inevitably it has to think of what you call precautionary measures against such a contingency. There is no end to this process of so-called precautionary measures on either side except a frank recognition that steps should not be taken without full consultation. We cannot, therefore, agree with you that the digging of the new channel is an innocent precautionary measure. It is pregnant with dangerous possibilities affecting not only the relations of the two Dominions but also millions of lives. I must, therefore, again request you to direct that work on the new channel be stopped immediately with a view to create the necessary atmosphere for continuance of discussions between the two Dominions as envisaged in paragraph 6 of the agreement of the 4th May 1948. Unless this is done, these discussions can hardly be fruitful.

3. We are advised that the possibility of supplying water through the new channel to the Dipalpur Canal depends *inter alia* on the maintenance of the Ferozepore Headworks. We cannot, therefore, regard the new channel as an alternative source for supply of water to Dipalpur Canal within the meaning of paragraph 4 of the agreement of 4th May.

4. We would strongly urge you to direct stoppage of work on the link channel. Your Government or the West Punjab Government cannot suffer any prejudice by doing so as you have yourself admitted that your intention is not to utilise this channel until we commit a breach of the agreement. We consider ourselves bound by the agreement so long as it is observed by your Government and there is going to be no breach on our part if the terms of that agreement are observed by both parties.

5. You will appreciate that the East Punjab Government cannot remain a passive witness of something that may cause their people grave injury. If the digging of this new channel by West Punjab continues, they will have seriously to consider what action they should take to protect their vital interests.

6. My Government as well as the East Punjab Government are ready for further meetings as contemplated by paragraph 6 of the agreement of May 4th. We suggest that such a meeting should take place in the last week of June and that both parties should come fully prepared for discussing all aspects of the question involved. We suggest that this meeting should take place in Delhi about the 25th June. Will you kindly let me know the exact date that will suit your Government and the West Punjab Government for this purpose?

10. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Your telegram No. 2165 dated June 8th. I had hoped to discuss this matter at our proposed meeting in Delhi today, but as this meeting has been postponed and the matter is urgent I am sending you this reply.

Further enquiries confirm that the Bahawalpur State distributary of the Eastern Grey Canal is non-perennial and only functions during summer and monsoon, that is, between first April and sixteenth October. In fact it functions chiefly during the monsoon season. The fact that the Bahawalpur Government raised the question of supply of water to their distributary only about the beginning of June this year also confirms that the distributary only functions during this period.

We have given serious consideration to your request for immediate resumption of supplies to the Bahawalpur distributary through the Eastern Grey Canal. But you will appreciate that it is difficult for us to enter into further commitments depending on Ferozepur Headworks in view of the serious threat to this headworks by the digging of the new channel by the West Punjab Government. In spite of our repeated requests this digging apparently continues and endangers not only the future of the Ferozepur Headworks, but of the canal water supply system in a large area.² If this digging continues the assurance that the embankment will not be breached is of little consequence as the breach can be made at short notice and there will be continuous apprehension about it. The East Punjab Government will have to take steps to provide against this development which is so full of danger to their people as well as to the people of Bahawalpur. The whole Eastern Grey Canal system will be seriously affected by it. Thus this question is intimately allied with the digging of the new channel by the West Punjab Government and cannot be viewed separately. I would request you again therefore to take urgent steps to stop this digging so that this and other matters might be considered in a normal context.

1. New Delhi, 15 June 1948. File No. 9-3/48-Pak I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Replying on 19 June, Zafrullah Khan assured Nehru that the West Punjab Government had taken "all possible precautions" to protect the channels from mischief-makers. He reiterated that its construction was designed to restore confidence and remove fear of insecurity. He would do his best "for partial or complete cessation of work on channel.. without creating such local opposition" as could neutralise all that the two Dominions were "trying to achieve by negotiation".

Subject to what I have said above we are prepared to ask East Punjab Government to supply water immediately to the Bahawalpur State distributary. It should be clearly understood, however, that this supply will be in terms of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of the 4th May 1948 and subject also to the payment by the Bahawalpur State of interest, maintenance and seigniorage charges. Such seigniorage charges have been paid by various States in the past and stand on a different footing to that of West Punjab. Apart, therefore, from the question of West Punjab paying seigniorage charges to East Punjab which has been reserved for future discussion the case of their payment by Bahawalpur State is clear. The amount of actual payment and other details may be settled at a meeting between our respective representatives which should take place early, but the principle of payment of interest, maintenance and seigniorage charges should be accepted by the Bahawalpur Government.

This matter requires urgent consideration in the interests of both Dominions and their provinces and States. Postponement of it will be harmful to all concerned. There are many other matters also, including the implementation of the Inter-Dominion Agreement of Calcutta, which require early consideration.³ The Prime Ministers' meeting can hardly deal fully with all these matters though it may consider certain basic principles. I suggest therefore that an early date preferably in the last week of June be fixed for a meeting in Delhi between Dominion Ministers and secretarial and technical staff to consider all these matters.

3. The Inter-Dominion Agreement signed on 19 April 1948 fixed the responsibility for the protection of minorities on the respective Governments. Exodus of minorities should be discouraged and conditions created for the return of the evacuees. Provincial Minorities Boards and Evacuee Property Management Boards should be set up to protect the rights and properties of the minorities. Baggage of passengers should be checked only by customs officials and personal searches should be avoided. Restrictions on the movement of essential goods and customs duties should be removed. Experts from the two Dominions would review post and telegraph rates, and ensure speedy delivery of mail.

11. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
16th June, 1948

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of June 10th. It is a very good report which I have read with interest.

About the Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca, I am exceedingly sorry for the delay. Prafulla Babu will not accept, his chief objection being that he does not wish to resign from the Congress Working Committee. Of course, a member of the Working Committee cannot be a Deputy High Commissioner or anything else like that. It has now been practically decided to have Surendra Mohan Ghosh as Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca and we are sending a telegram to the Pakistan Government to ask for their agreement.

Our relations with Pakistan depend on two major factors, Kashmir and Hyderabad, and certain other matters which are giving us a lot of trouble, notably disputes about canal water and more specially the digging of a water channel by West Pakistan. This digging is most dangerous from our point of view as it will lead to the breach of an embankment and thus to the Ferozepore headworks being made rather useless. We had hoped to discuss this matter at the inter-Dominion conference but this has been postponed because Liaquat Ali Khan could not come here yesterday. I am interested to know how far Liaquat Ali Khan's illness was real or feigned. We have sent you a telegram on this subject.

Zafrullah Khan and others wanted to come without Liaquat Ali Khan but we told them not to. I have an intense dislike for Zafrullah which has increased since his utterances at the U.N. Security Council. I am sure his coming here will do no good to anybody.

I have today received a telegram from Liaquat Ali inviting me to come to Karachi for discussions in ten days' time. I am not sending an answer just yet but I have absolutely no intention of going to Karachi. I might at a pinch go to Lahore but even that is very doubtful. It seems to me that these Prime Ministers conferences which we had agreed upon are likely to fade away after Mountbatten goes, unless of course there is a radical change in the situation which is doubtful.

Mountbatten had decided to go direct from Delhi to the Persian Gulf on his way to England without stopping at Karachi. He wanted to avoid landing at Karachi even for refuelling chiefly because of Jinnah who might very well have been discourteous. Now Liaquat Ali Khan has specially asked him to go *via* Karachi so that they might say good-bye to him if only

1. J.N. Collection.

at the airport. In view of the general situation, we are inclined to advise him not to accept this invitation and to skip Karachi.

During the last few days we have been discussing Hyderabad and it seemed that we were on the point of coming to an agreement. In fact, I was almost sure and the Hyderabad representatives here agreed but again, as before, the Nizam has stalled and tried to wriggle out. There are going to be no further discussions. If he does not sign on the dotted line within a day, it might be presumed that there has been a complete breakdown. This has a far-reaching consequence. We did our utmost to avoid this. Probably by tomorrow I shall give out all the facts to the press.

I have little doubt that Hyderabad has been hand in glove with Pakistan and it is Pakistan that has prevented them from coming into line with us. We have received definite information of a despatch of two planes from Karachi to Hyderabad full of war material.

Regarding Kashmir the position is also a serious one in the sense that we are fighting the Pakistan regular army now. I have sent two telegrams, I think, to Liaquat Ali Khan giving particulars about Pakistan Army's functioning in Kashmir and have had no satisfactory reply. I propose to send a third tomorrow. My own impression is that Liaquat Ali Khan refused to come here yesterday because it was inconvenient for him to discuss about Kashmir and the Pakistan Army's functioning there.

I wonder if you have heard about G.K. Reddy,² the Kashmir A.P. man and who later became the Director of Publicity of the 'Azad Kashmir' Government. After some months there he escaped *via* Karachi and he has given us a very full account of the way Pakistan has been running the Kashmir show, both politically and militarily. It is a very revealing account.³ It has appeared almost in full in *Blitz* newspaper of Bombay.

We do not propose to weaken in Kashmir and we shall fight on, Pakistan or no Pakistan. Indeed, we would have swept the whole place clear

2. (1923-1987); editor, *Kashmir Times*, 1947; Director, Public Relations, 'Azad Kashmir' Government, 1948; correspondent, *Blitz*, 1948-51; foreign correspondent of *The Times of India*, 1952-69; chief of news bureau of *The Hindu* at New Delhi, 1969-87.
3. Reddy's account of the complicity of Pakistan in the matter was published in *Blitz* on 9 June 1948. He mentioned the presence of the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of West Punjab at a meeting at Rawalpindi where all the details of the attack were finalised. Also present at the meeting were General Sir Frank Messervy, the then Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, and General Sir Douglas Gracey who succeeded him.

but for the intrusion of large numbers of Pakistan troops. The U.N. Commission will be coming here no doubt probably within two or three weeks. The fact that Pakistan is regularly fighting there will rather upset the case that Zafrullah tried to build up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Cable to Zafrullah Khan¹

Thank you for your telegram No. 2312 dated 19th June regarding canal water supply in East and West Punjab and Bahawalpur.²

I appreciate what you say, but I would point out that East Punjab Government did not stop water supply at the beginning of April without notice as stated by you. They made repeated efforts to confer with representatives of West Punjab Government but did not succeed. It was only after failure of these efforts that water was stopped.

I shall not repeat what I have already said about inevitable consequences of the digging of new channel by West Punjab, I agree that confidence must be restored on both sides, but the very digging of new channel is preventing this restoration of confidence because it is a constant threat to East Punjab and would even threaten supply to Bahawalpur. It was for this reason that I laid great emphasis on the cessation of work in digging this channel, which would, to some extent, restore confidence and enable all of us to face problem dispassionately and in the interests of all concerned. I earnestly hope, therefore, that West Punjab Government will immediately stop this digging of the channel.

1. New Delhi, 20 June 1948. File No. F(1)-S/48 (I.T.Section), Ministry of Irrigation.
2. Zafrullah Khan was anxious to resolve at an early date the problem of water supply to Pakistan canals. He held that the "arbitrary stoppage of water supplies without warning" had shocked the people in West Punjab and that the restoration of supply had in no way "restored confidence".

As regards seigniorage charges from Bahawalpur, the position is entirely the same as with some other States which do pay these charges and we do not see how any new question arises in regard to it.³

I am communicating your telegram to the East Punjab Government.

3. Zafrullah Khan had contended that the Bahawalpur Government's "rights derive from capital participation in construction of system and are guaranteed by terms of their agreement"; as such, East Punjab could not claim seigniorage charges from Bahawalpur.

13. Telegram to Gopichand Bhargava¹

I am repeating to you separately telegram received from Zafrullah Khan about canal water disputes and digging of new channel by West Punjab. I am also repeating to you my reply to him.²

Zafrullah Khan's reply is not entirely satisfactory but certainly goes some way to meet our demands. I think we should ourselves, while remaining firm in our main contentions, be conciliatory as far as possible, as continuing conflict on this issue will be injurious to all parties concerned. I would suggest our laying stress again on our main contentions and at the same time agree to water being supplied to Bahawalpur pending our next inter-Dominion meeting. It should be made clear, however, that we adhere to our position. It is important that the inter-Dominion meeting be held as early as possible. Please send your comments immediately.

1. New Delhi, 20 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item

14. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
23 June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,
Your letter of the 21st June about the channel being dug by the West Punjab Government. You know, I suppose, the messages I have sent to the Pakistan Government on this subject and their answers. In one of them they said that they would try their utmost to stop the West Punjab Government from proceeding with the channel. But I do not expect anything out of this. I do not quite know what more I can do. Our relations with Pakistan are deteriorating in many ways. What positive action should you suggest?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

2. Other Issues

1. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 1198 dated 4th April. We do not wish to exclude any subject from discussion at Inter-Dominion Conference to be held in Calcutta, though perhaps it may not be possible at that stage to deal finally with some matters. We are anxious that our discussions in Calcutta should lead to the removal of grievances of minorities and a general improvement in the situation and stoppage of migrations. In particular we hope that harassment caused to people crossing borders will be put an end to as well as such incidents as recent stoppage of our mails from Assam.² We hope to send two of our Central Government Ministers to the conference and also Premiers of West Bengal and Assam. As Bihar Government is also interested in frontier incidents with East Bengal they will send a representative. I earnestly trust that this conference will yield substantial fruit in the way of improvement of our relations and in bringing peace and security to the people on either side.

1. New Delhi, 8 April 1948. File No. 27-190/48-Pak. I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

2. On 25 and 27 March 1948, the Pakistan police and Muslim League National Guards seized at Lalmonirhat in East Bengal 406 mail bags intended for Assam.

2. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

I understand that West Punjab Government issued orders on 17th April to all bank managers in Lahore that no securities whatsoever should be allowed to be transferred from West Punjab to Indian Union. This action amounts to repudiation of agreement reached between two Dominions in the Inter-Dominion Conference held at Lahore on 13th, 14th and 15th March. I also understand that West Punjab Government have suspended issue of permits for removal of valuables from lockers and all other property by our nationals. Work relating to partition records for which East Punjab had deputed special staff to Lahore has also been stopped. East Punjab

1. New Delhi, 30 April 1948. File No. 57/27/48-Poll., M.H.A.

Home Minister telegraphed about this to Premier West Punjab on April 16th enquiring whether information was correct, but in spite of reminder no reply has yet been received. Transfer of prisoners from West Punjab has also been stopped.

I am sure you will agree that unilateral repudiation of agreements arrived at between the two Dominions is bound to have unfortunate consequences and I hope you will issue urgent instructions for rescinding orders contrary to Inter-Dominion Agreement.

3. To Ghazanfar Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
2 May 1948

My dear Raja Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th April, which has only reached me today. I do not know what this delay is due to.

I entirely agree with you that we should do everything in our power to evolve a machinery to implement inter-Dominion decisions and otherwise to deal with any complaints that might arise. I fear, however, that it may not be possible for us to keep a Dominion Minister at Jullundur. All our Ministers are hard-worked and it is not easy for them to live permanently at Jullundur. I think that it should be possible for such complaints to be dealt with expeditiously from Delhi. Many of them in fact will have to be referred to Delhi because they often deal with various departments. I am prepared to make special arrangements here in Delhi for the prompt disposal of such complaints.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Ghazanfar Ali Khan was at this time Pakistan Minister of Refugees.

4. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

You will remember that you have already agreed to our appointing a Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. In view of the importance of the functions which the Deputy High Commissioner will have to discharge in East Bengal, particularly after the recent Inter-Dominion Agreement reached at Calcutta, we have decided to appoint Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh as our representative at Dacca. Dr. Ghosh, as you know, is an ex-premier of West Bengal and has been a member of the Congress Working Committee for a number of years. I am sure you will agree that an appropriate designation for a person of his position would be Joint High Commissioner and not Deputy High Commissioner. Our intention is that Dr. Ghosh will deal direct with the Government of India in respect of matters relating to East Bengal. He will of course maintain contact with our High Commissioner in Karachi. As we wish to make the appointment immediately I shall be grateful for your early concurrence.

1. New Delhi, 8 May 1948. File No. 1-4/48-Pak.I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

5. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Pakistan Government have stopped the issue of permits, the operation of lockers and the transfer of securities as a retaliation to the stoppage of canal water by East Punjab.² The question of water supply was quite distinct from the other Inter-Dominion Agreements reached. It is difficult to appreciate why agreements already separately negotiated should be affected by failure to reach agreement on another matter. You would appreciate the undesirability of isolated unconnected incidents bringing the entire conciliation machinery to a stop. I would be grateful for your views in the matter and issue of orders to resume implementation of agreements already arrived at.

1. New Delhi, 8 May 1948. File No. F(1)-S/48 (I.T. Section), Ministry of Irrigation.
2. Orders in this regard were issued by the West Punjab Government on 17 April 1948.

6. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

You will remember that at the last meeting of the Joint Defence Council² it was decided that the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions might meet as far as possible every month to discuss various matters of common interest. It is now over a month since we met and I suggest that we might fix a meeting on a date convenient to you.

2. As you know Lord and Lady Mountbatten will be leaving India about the 21st June. If you and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan could come to Delhi you could say goodbye to them also. They have asked me to convey their invitation to you and to Begum Sahiba as well as to such other of your colleagues whom you would like to bring with you.

3. I suggest therefore that we might meet in Delhi. The dates when I shall be in Delhi are May 26th, 27th and 29th and 30th, and June 4th onwards. I shall be grateful if you would let me know which of these dates suits you.

1. New Delhi, 8 May 1948. File No. 52/GG/47, President's Secretariat.
2. This meeting was held on 19 March 1948 in Delhi.

7. To P. C. Ghosh¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Prafulla Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th and your telegram sent previously. I am very grateful to you for agreeing to go to Dacca on our behalf.

A slight difficulty has arisen which really has nothing to do with you. Liaquat Ali Khan has welcomed your appointment but says that a Joint High Commissioner would create constitutional difficulties. Probably he is afraid of our trying to deal with East Bengal as a separate entity and thus encourage separatist tendencies there. I have replied to him that is not our intention and the designation of Joint High Commissioner was purely because of your personal status and that it involves no constitutional change. I have suggested him that if he likes we can call you "Additional High Commissioner" instead of "Joint". I am waiting for his answer.

1. J.N. Collection.

In any event, I hope that this nomenclature will not come in our way. We shall, of course, help you in every way. I am quite sure that if you are at Dacca many of our difficulties will fade away.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Cable to Ghulam Mohammed¹

Your telegram number 1948 dated 24th May regarding implementation of Inter-Dominion Agreement in regard to trade matters.²

We have asked for a report from the West Bengal Government in the matter. I must, however, draw your attention to the large-scale smuggling of cloth into East Bengal over the frontiers of West Bengal which besides being generally objectionable has created a difficult cloth supply situation in West Bengal. Whilst we are all for unhampered movement of goods between East and West Bengal so far as possible, you would appreciate that smuggling and movement of goods in a manner such as to create difficulties at our end cannot be countenanced.

1. New Delhi, 26 May 1948. File No. 8-22/48-Pak, I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Ghulam Mohammed alleged that passengers bound for East Bengal were being searched and minor articles of personal use were being seized under the Customs Act and control orders of the West Bengal Government, that even goods imported by the old Government of Bengal for use specially in East Bengal were held up at Calcutta despite repeated representations, that no goods-in-transit facilities were provided by India, and that there was discrimination against the Muslim traders of Calcutta.

9. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

I understand that small parcels of aircraft spares consigned from U.K. to R.I.A.F. units at Ambala, Jammu and Palam have been detained at Karachi.

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

One of these packages has been lying in Karachi since 26th February 1948, another since 18th March and three other packages since 14th April. All these packages were being conveyed by B.O.A.C. aircraft. It is claimed that they must be detained in Karachi until a proper re-export licence from Pakistan Government is obtained. Such a demand seems inexplicable as these packages were consigned to India and were being conveyed by aircraft which were travelling onward to India. These detentions are wholly unjustifiable and against all international conventions and our own Inter-Dominion Agreements. I shall be glad if you will order immediate release of these packages. Grateful also if you will take steps to ensure that similar detentions do not occur in future.

10. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

You are aware of the fact that there are a large number of *gurdwaras* situated in Pakistan territory. A note on this subject was given some time ago to representatives of your Government. There is naturally great anxiety on the part of the Sikhs about the due maintenance and care of these *gurdwaras* and there is the desire to visit them on special days which have thus far been celebrated from time to time. I shall be grateful if you could have this matter examined so that we might discuss it when we meet next.

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

11. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram 2039 of May 30.² Our Liaison Office at Peshawar. It is not our intention to retain a Liaison Office in Peshawar permanently although, on the analogy of the U.K., which is, I understand, allowed to maintain a

1. New Delhi, 9 June 1948. File No. 33(5)-OS-IV, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Liaquat Ali Khan insisted on the withdrawal from Peshawar of the Indian Liaison Officer, along with his staff as the Pakistan Government was already considering the question of transferring the evacuees from Chitral, Dir and Swat to another camp and the matters relating to the pay, service-books, etc., of the officials of the N.W.F.P. Government were being disposed of. He also claimed that the problem of recovering abducted women was not acute, and that the number of alleged converts was also not large.

Deputy High Commissioner there, we could reasonably ask for a similar arrangement. India's interest in this region is greater than that of the U.K. Our anxiety, in the main, relates to

- (1) safe evacuation to India of evacuees from Chitral, Dir and Swat,
- (2) recovery of abducted women with the utmost vigour, and
- (3) provision of facilities for movement of the personal effects etc. of former non-Muslim employees of N.W.F.P. Government who have come to India but have left such effects behind.

As regards (2) our information is that there still is a large number of non-Muslim women in the N.W.F.P. and vigorous measures for their recovery will have to be continued. Our Liaison Office will be of help to your authorities in these tasks and a source of reassurance to persons of three categories mentioned. I hope that you will, for these reasons, agree to let our Liaison Office continue for some time longer in Pakistan.

12. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

May I draw your attention to the fact that about 800 non-Muslim prisoners are still in various jails of West Punjab? Only a relatively small number, about a hundred Muslim prisoners, remain in East Punjab jails. We are perfectly prepared to send the latter to West Punjab. Would request you to expedite transfer of non-Muslim prisoners from West Punjab.²

1. New Delhi, 11 June 1948. File No. 4-25/48-Pak.I, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. It was only after the Government of India had sent a reminder on 23 June on the subject that the Government of Pakistan replied on 28 June that every effort was being made to expedite the matter which was still under consideration.

13. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
20 June 1948

Dear Nawabzada,

I regret the delay in answering your letter No. D. 3324-J/48 dated 19th May 1948 regarding destruction of mosques, tombs and graveyards in Alwar. The matter was referred to the Government of Matsya Union² for enquiry into the allegations made in your letter. I have now got a report from them.

2. It is true that a considerable number of mosques, tombs and graveyards have been destroyed in Alwar town. But there are a number of mosques still existing in the town and Fateh Jung's *gumbaz*,³ although damaged, is still standing as a conspicuous monument. Outside Alwar town there has been practically no damage or destruction and over 500 mosques are still intact.

3. As you are perhaps aware, conditions in the State deteriorated in February-March 1947, when Meos became riotous and turbulent and conflicts occurred between them and the Jats and other elements of the State. It was during these riots that most of the damage and destruction was caused.

4. The enquiry that has been held does not connect any of the State officers with the destruction of mosques. The destruction was the work of frenzied mobs. It is true that in one or two instances where the destruction is complete and the ground had to be levelled, road crossings were made over the scene of destruction.

5. I have passed on to the Government of the Matsya Union your suggestion that a commission of enquiry should be set up to investigate the whole matter. The facts of destruction do not need any enquiry. As to what particular individuals were responsible for it, I doubt if it is possible after a year to find this out. It is highly unlikely that any further information in regard to this can be obtained now beyond what the last investigation has yielded.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection
2. The United State of Matsya comprising the States of Alwar, Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli was formed on 17 March 1948.
3. A 60-foot-high tomb of Fateh Jung, which was said to have been built around 1547, is located near Alwar railway station. Fateh Jung was a Muslim convert from Hinduism.

14. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
30 June 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June, drawing my attention to an article in the *Dawn*.² I had already seen it.

Some months ago a man came to see me purporting to bring a letter from the Fakir of Ipi. I passed him on to a senior police officer from the Frontier, who could speak his language. Subsequently I met him for about five minutes and told him to convey my good wishes to the Fakir of Ipi and to inform him that it was not possible for us in the circumstances to give him any help.

It is possible, though I cannot be sure, that the same man was trying to reach me again. I do not propose to take any notice of *Dawn's* statements. If, however, the Pakistan Government refers to them, then I shall send an answer.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The *Dawn* of 28 June 1948 reported the arrest of the Fakir of Ipi's emissary Awal Hussain at Hyderabad in Sind. Hussain confessed that he went to Delhi earlier in April, met Nehru, sought monetary and military help from India to stir up hostility in tribal areas for annexing territory up to the Indus and also sought India's good offices for securing international recognition of his claims. He alleged that Nehru sympathised with the Fakir of Ipi's aims, gave assurances of assistance at an appropriate time and advised him to maintain closer contact with the Red Shirts.

REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

1. Be Self-reliant¹

Brothers and Sisters,

As you see, people are still coming and many are leaving, and when big crowds gather a lot of commotion is created in settling down. So I request that all of you should keep absolutely quiet and the late comers should not disturb the others. Only then can you hear me.

First of all I would like to apologise to you for not coming here before this, especially as the Central Government is wholly responsible for the camp which was started in Kurukshetra a few months ago. I have often wanted to come but there has been such a pressure of work and such problems that, unless there was something really important, it was difficult to find time.

So I have come here today. As you know Kurukshetra is a historical place. Our culture, religion and our mythology are tied up with it. Great wars have been fought on these fields and now we are fighting new kinds of battles all over India. We became independent after a long struggle, but with independence came bigger troubles which shook the country to its foundations. Millions of people were the sufferers and our country's reputation also suffered a great deal in the eyes of the world. Since then we have been engaged in trying to put things right in this country by rehabilitating our unfortunate brethren.

There are hot and cold places in India but by and large, as you know, India is a hot country. There are some mountains here and there but the greater part of the population lives in the hotter parts and they have to put up with intense heat. I am a Kashmiri and I love the mountains and dislike the heat. But I cannot run away to the hills for coolness as our old rulers used to go away to Simla and other hill stations, because the work at hand would come to a standstill. Well, anyhow, I hope that the refugees who have come here from Kashmir will soon get the opportunity to go back. As you know, the Government has changed almost completely in Kashmir in the last few weeks and the present Prime Minister is Sheikh Abdullah, and he and his colleagues hold the reins of power. I will write to Sheikh Abdullah and meet him sometime later and talk to him about repatriating the refugees from Kashmir who wish to go back. Obviously you may not be able to go back to your old homes yet because fighting is still going on in Kashmir and the Indian Army is fighting bravely and with great courage to defend the independence of Kashmir and India. Those of you who

1. Speech at a refugee camp, Kurukshetra, 8 April 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi.)

have come from Kashmir know how mercilessly some parts of Kashmir were ruined by *Mujahids* who came over from Pakistan. Even now some parts of Kashmir are in their hands. So you cannot go there. Some of you have come from Muzaffarabad and Camp Alibeg and from other places and there are others who are from Mirpur. I can send you neither to Mirpur nor to Muzaffarabad. But you will be able to go back there one day. Efforts will be made to send you to other parts of Kashmir as soon as possible, not with a view to enable you to live in the cooler climate but with the idea that you may serve Kashmir and take part in the war to free Kashmir.

We want to send others from the Kurukshetra camp² to various places so that they may also be engaged in different tasks instead of congregating here in such large numbers. But all this may take time and there will be difficulties because it is not easy to make arrangements for millions of people. You have many complaints and often they may be justified but you must remember how vast the problem is and how enormous are the difficulties in arranging everything. It is not an easy matter to make arrangements for millions and millions of people. Remember this before you voice your complaints. You must learn to help in this task and then perhaps you will have fewer complaints and the task will become easier too. There must be many Congress workers among you. It is their duty to help the refugees here and in Karnal district to the best of their abilities. This is not a political task such that we come here, hold meetings and deliver big lectures. This is a task requiring social service which should be performed in complete harmony. It is the special duty of Congressmen to undertake this task and serve their brethren and try to alleviate their suffering somewhat.

These are a few things I wanted to tell you about. You look at Kurukshetra and think of your own difficulties but remember that the problem is not of Kurukshetra alone but of the whole of the Punjab—especially East Punjab and of large areas in India. Visit any city in India these days and you will find refugees everywhere, whether it is Calcutta, Bombay or Delhi. There are five or six lakhs of them in Delhi with their own problems. They are there in Allahabad, Lucknow and Nagpur. There is no city where there are no refugees. It is the same in Pakistan. There too, there is not a city which is not full of refugees who have gone from here. India has almost become a country of refugees. So this is a big problem which has arisen and it has to be solved not only here in Kurukshetra but in the whole of India. At the same time you have to remember that once more war clouds are gathering in the world of today and there is talk of war among the big powers. I am not talking about the war-like conditions in India but in

2. Kurukshetra was the largest refugee camp and was being directly run by the Central Government. The camp offered shelter to 3,00,000 refugees mostly from the North West Frontier Province and Kashmir.

the bigger countries of the world.³ If there is war on a large scale again in the world, it will affect the whole world and India too will face difficulties. In such circumstances, we must take full charge of ourselves as soon as possible.

I would like to remind you of one more thing. Seven months ago, in the months of August and September especially, there were big riots in the Punjab and these continued later too. Muslims killed the Hindus and the Sikhs and the Hindus and the Sikhs killed the Muslims. There were large scale massacres and worse things happened, our women were abducted and all sorts of atrocities were committed against them. We must remember that we were all to blame for this. Please do not say that the Muslims alone were responsible and not we, because these things happened in both parts of the Punjab. The Hindu, the Sikh and the Muslim girls were abducted. So it will be wrong to claim that our hands are totally clean. The hands of all of us are dyed in blood. It was a big crime that we committed and now we are paying for it. We cannot absolve ourselves of the blame by saying that others were guilty and we did nothing.

All these things happened and our country became ruined. We have to get the situation under control and we must realise this first of all that we should never follow the path of violence again. We must not think that we can build an India, in isolation, of people following a single religion. No nation can ever be built that way. Whoever lives in India, whatever his religion may be, whether he is a Hindu, a Sikh, a Christian or a Muslim, if he is an Indian, it is our duty to treat him on an equal footing and with affection, and give him an opportunity to progress. Only thus can a nation make progress. I know that you have suffered great hardships and your hearts are bitter with grief. But grief should not lead us to abandon the right path; otherwise we will have to suffer more and as a consequence will be ruined. I will not accept the plea that great atrocities were committed in Pakistan—who does not know that—that in itself was a good enough excuse for our indulging in the same type of bad behaviour. Are we to imitate Pakistan? If Pakistan commits atrocities or follows a wrong path, are we going to do the same? This is not the way that nations grow.

3. The division of Europe into two blocs with the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. as rival leaders accusing each other of aggressive intentions was complete at this period. The specific developments were the breakdown of the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers on 15 December 1947, the move of the "Benelux" countries for a Western Union on 31 January 1948, the treaties of friendship and alliance of East European powers, the Soviet protest against three-power talks on Germany on 13 February, the Communist *coup* in Czechoslovakia on 25 February, the appeal of General de Gaulle for western unity against communism on 7 March, the Soviet walkout from the meeting of the Allied Control Council for Berlin on 20 March, the deadlock over disarmament and control of atomic energy and the prolonged unrest in Greece and Turkey.

So we have to cast off bitterness and hatred from our hearts. But if we are attacked from outside, we shall resist with all our might. But killing innocent men and women or abducting helpless women is sheer cowardice. Does it behove a human being to fight like this? It is a coward's way of acting like this and it leads to a nation's downfall. Our country has indulged in much shameful behaviour in the last six or seven months. So we have to put an end to all this fighting, cast off evil thoughts and show to the world that we are repentant. We must rectify our mistakes because you know why Mahatma Gandhi had to sacrifice his life. He wanted to show to us how we had strayed on to the wrong path. The advice he repeatedly gave to us, every evening in his prayer meetings, was that we should follow the path of truth and not of deceit and war. He gave up his life to put an end to communal strife in the country.

Anyhow, you and I have to understand clearly that we can progress only if our country makes progress; but if the country does not make progress, neither you nor I can hope to do so. You and I cannot live apart from the country. So this is how we have to work in Kurukshetra and try to control the situation. Whatever help the Punjab Government or the Central Government can give will be given to you but you must try to help yourselves too. Please do not keep sending me applications. It is beyond me to help everyone individually—one person wants some land, another a house and a third person a shop, and so on and so forth. But we will certainly try to give you some work. We will train you and send you to various places where you can settle down and work. All this we are doing but we will succeed only when you have the will to work. If you keep sitting here doing nothing, you will get sapped, your troubles will increase and you will have proved that you are useless.

We have to select the type of work that you can do. I spoke to Mr. Dey⁴ today who has started masonry work and within three months many such centres will be opened in other provinces too. They can form the nucleus around which small settlements will come up and people will be able to earn well and lead independent lives. So I liked this scheme very much and I hope the maximum number of people will benefit by it. Secondly, some schools have been opened here and children have started attending them. I want that there should be not a single child here—girl or boy—who does not get an opportunity to go to school. It is possible that teaching standards may not be high but that does not matter. Children should be given an opportunity to learn something. Later, they will make progress. My sympathies

4. Surendra Kumar Dey (b. 1906); engineer; engaged in rehabilitation of refugees, 1947-52; Administrator, Community Projects Administration, 1952-56; Minister for Community Development, 1956-58, for Panchayati Raj and Cooperation, 1959-65, and for Mines and Metals, 1966-67.



AT KURUKSHETRA REFUGEE CAMP, 8 APRIL 1948



are with all of you in your difficulties but ultimately my main anxiety is not so much for the adults, if you will forgive my saying so, but for the children, the little girls and boys because they are the future of India. If our boys and girls are suppressed and not well looked after now then the future of the country will be jeopardised. We must think about the future whatever we may do today. Therefore, our greatest wealth is our children and our first duty should be, whether it is the Punjab Government or the Central Government which is responsible for the organisation of these camps, to nurture these young saplings, to pay proper attention to their education and to ensure that later they are given adequate opportunities to work.

What more can I say? Problems are overwhelmingly large. But I would like to request that no child should be denied an opportunity to receive education due to lack of funds or for any other reason. The Government must undertake this responsibility. Adequate arrangements for education must be made now in these camps for all the children. It is a strange situation that, on the one hand, I hear that there are many unemployed teachers among the refugees, and on the other hand, there are difficulties in giving education to the children. There seems to be something wrong somewhere because these two factors ought to be connected so that the educated unemployed teach the uneducated children. As I said the standard may not be very high in the beginning. But a beginning must be made. Then there is another difficulty. I do not want any of you to come and argue about payment, etc. You will be paid but the work of this camp should not be regarded in that light, as far as possible. It should be regarded as service to one another. Each of us must do whatever we can and if we cannot do anything else, we can at least help to sweep the camp and keep it clean. There is no dishonour in this, believe me. Even Mahatma Gandhi had swept floors. I feel perturbed when people come to me and say that they are babus and are not accustomed to doing such menial tasks. If the babus cannot work then they will become redundant and no sympathy will be shown to them.

So, as I was saying, everybody must be educated. Arrangements have to be made for that and I don't want to raise the question of payment, etc. The Government spends millions of rupees in providing food for everyone and though that food may not be very good, at least wherever possible, it is being given. The returns for the amount spent should at least be in the form of some service from everyone. Those who can teach should teach, those who can clean should clean and those who can train others for some kind of work should do that.

Everyone of you, man or woman, girl or boy, except the very old and the sick and the infirm or the infants, should take to physical training or do some other exercises, which will make you work better. You will not become an army but at least you will become more alert, your self-confidence will grow and you will be able to manage your camp better.

Police and army assistance is available in the camp and they can be called upon to help when the necessity arises. But for the day-to-day routine management of the camp, its inmates should volunteer themselves. I am told that there are about a thousand volunteers of whom perhaps two hundred are being specially trained and the others will also be trained gradually. But what are a thousand volunteers in this huge camp of Kurukshetra! I was under the impression that there must be at least a hundred thousand volunteers here to assist in the work and of which perhaps ten thousand would be trained. If everyone helps and shares in the work, the burden becomes much lighter, the unemployment problem gets solved automatically; and when you go elsewhere from here, you will go with strength, courage and self-confidence, with sound bodies and minds. After all, you are not going to be here permanently. You will have to move. Therefore, I have brought three suggestions before you, and if you act, you will benefit and the burden on the camp will become lighter.

Many of you are from Kashmir, from the borders and already there are complaints that the heat is unbearable. The state of Punjab was counted among the fortunate provinces in India. It was considered fortunate and it was also more well off, more prosperous compared to the other provinces; the people were strong, well off, and, compared to the rest of India, they were the ones who could afford a lot of milk and curd. Now this fortunate province is in ruins and you and millions in the Punjab have become symbols of that ruin. Who is to blame for this? That is a long story. History will be written later as to who was guilty, who made mistakes or whether the whole thing was predestined. But the fact remains that the Punjab is in a shambles and rivers of blood flowed in East Punjab, in West Punjab, on the borders, in Baluchistan and elsewhere. India's soil is wet with the blood of Indians. Anyhow, all this happened and at a time when there had been a revolution in India, the country had become independent and a new Government had taken over. The first task that we had to face was the rehabilitation of nearly 50 to 60 millions of our brethren who had been ruined. It was an enormous task. Perhaps hardly any other country in the world had had to face such a great disaster at a moment like this. Well, we did our best. We had some success and some failure too. Even now millions of people are in various camps, they have no employment and are miserable. Anyhow, we cannot succumb to such things nor run away in fear. We have to face them and we shall do so. I have full faith that India will make very rapid progress and after facing such enormous difficulties, the people of India will gain in strength and make their country a great country in the world.

What are the symbols of a great nation? A country should be able to defend its freedom, the people should progress and poverty and unemployment should be eradicated. A country must be strong so that no enemy can

attack her. All these things are all right. But ultimately what is the sign of a great nation or a great man? It is not merely the ability to wield the sword or fire a gun. The ultimate test is the ability to do great things. There have been very great men in this world. In our own country as you know there has been such a great man that the whole world bowed to him. He had neither a sword or a gun nor did he have great physical strength. But he had an inner spiritual strength in him before which emperors and nations had to bow. He became a symbol of India. He led the way and India followed him and our country gained by it. We got independence. The moment we strayed away from the path, our country stumbled and fell and disaster fell upon the people.

So we have to control the situation. We have to settle these millions of people who have come from the Punjab and the border areas and elsewhere, who have been rendered homeless so that they may not have to sit in idleness but can engage themselves in some productive employment, because if there are too many unemployed persons in a country they become a burden on it. Its wealth begins to diminish. After all, where does wealth come from? Silver and gold do not constitute wealth. Those are the tools of traders and shopkeepers. Wealth is what man produces by his hard work. The more people there are in a country capable of producing something, whether they are zamindars or peasants, artisans or factory workers, or others, who work at something productive, the more wealthy it becomes. If people sit at home or merely indulge in usury, no wealth is produced. Just now many people have become unemployed and if they continue like that it will be bad for them and bad for the country. Our first and foremost task should be to ensure that every man and woman produces something, both for his or her own good and for the good of the country. This may be a sound principle but to rehabilitate fifty lakh people who are uprooted is a very difficult task. We have spent large sums of money and more will have to be spent. Some have been rehabilitated but many still remain. You are gathered here together from all over, from the Punjab, Bahawalpur, Kashmir and the border areas. You have no homes. You send in your applications to me for various things like land, shops, jobs and some applications even to be sent to colder places because the heat is unbearable. Your complaints are quite justified. But how are we to solve all your problems? The Government can give some help but it is not possible for the Government to look after lakhs of people. A little help is all that we can provide. Ultimately the people will have to use their own intelligence and stand on their own feet. A government can merely clear the way and give some help initially. That we have been doing and shall continue to do.

But I feel rather perturbed to see men and women in these large camps sitting idle. They do not serve their camps in any way. They become a burden to the country by sitting idle and they themselves become useless. There-

fore, on the one hand, we have to try to settle them somewhere permanently by helping them to get some land or place to live in towns and cities or take up some vocations or open shops, and on the other hand, we have to make an effort to see that the time taken to rehabilitate them is not wasted.

All of you in these camps should work for yourselves and for the good of the country. It is absolutely wrong that people should sit idle in camps, living on the dole, because whatever you are getting is out of the country's wealth. You have to pay back by rendering service to the country or to yourself or to your camp. Just now Acharya Vinoba Bhave told you the same thing and it is very important to do so.⁵ This camp will not be here permanently. We want to disperse most of the people to various places where they can settle down to work seriously. But it will take a few months and even then some people will remain here. So, as long as the camp is here, it should be organised in such a way that every man, woman and child should do something. Except the old, the sick and the infants, everyone should do some work. Only then will you be in a position to help your province and your country. We wish to follow this principle in all the camps in the Punjab because it is harmful for any individual to remain idle and live on a free dole. So you must be prepared for this.

The second thing is that those of you who are already working in the camp will be considered first for jobs, land, shops, etc. Those who do not work here will not work outside either. Therefore, all of you must start working here. Those who do so will be selected for various jobs outside. The turn of the others will come later. But those who are working here already will be given the first opportunity.

I visited the camp today and met many of you, saw the hospital, the schools and other places of work and settlement. I was happy with most of the arrangements but the thing that really impressed me and made me happy was the vocational training centre which was started three or four months ago and where different types of work are being taught—carpentry, charkha-plying, sewing, embroidery, and about thirty or forty different skills. It made me feel more hopeful and happy to see that because I could see that the best way of helping a person is only this. Those who are being trained there are already earning and will go on to better things later. We want every individual to learn some trade. And please do not come to me saying you were doing something else earlier, that you were a lawyer or something and that you cannot do menial jobs now. It is unfortunate that manual labour is considered undignified and sitting at a desk is thought of highly. This is absolutely wrong. Using your hands to do something is a great thing.

5. Vinoba Bhave had said that according to the *Gita* those who ate without doing work were sinners. He urged the people, who had been taking free rations for months, to work.

He who does not know how to use his limbs is only half a man. His personality cannot grow to the full however intelligent he may be.

I will conclude now and go back to Delhi in a short while to face a thousand and one tasks, as there are thousands of burdens and difficulties to be encountered. You have done me and my colleagues a great honour by putting us in high offices. We have, after all, been chosen by the people. We have not been appointed by any British authorities, nor are we self-appointed. So it is a great honour. But have you ever considered the great burden, worries and the difficulties that go with this honour? How often we feel heart-broken and want to run away from this world of strife to seek peace? But where can you and I run away? We have to go on working since we undertook the task of achieving India's independence and serving her people. We have taken a thousand pledges under our flag to serve the people, to work for the country's progress and to maintain its unity and freedom. How can we forget those pledges and the promise made to Mahatma Gandhi just a few days before he died?⁶ How can we show such weakness by running away from our duty?

So, we have to go on with our work and we will do it with all our strength and as long as there is life in us. When we are no more, others will carry on the work. But the task is so big that no government can do it unless it has the support and cooperation of the people. So please do not come to me saying that you have been pursuing other professions and cannot do some other work now, because at a time like this you have to be prepared to learn new work and perhaps you may be able to go back to your old professions later, when the opportunity comes. But just now if you learn some new occupation, it will add to your resourcefulness, courage and things will become easier hereafter.

I invite you, once again, to participate in this task, in your own camp or outside, wherever you may be and shoulder this burden in your own way. If you have certain rights in India, you have some duties too and only by fulfilling them, you will make progress and contribute to India's progress.
Jai Hind.

6. A Peace Committee of 130 members representing Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and other communities and organisations with Rajendra Prasad, Congress President, as convener, pledged on 17 January 1948 that "the incidents which have taken place in Delhi will not happen again" and that "we will protect the life of Muslims".

2. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
10th April 1948

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Please forgive me for the delay in answering your two letters of the 2nd April enclosing notes from Mridula Sarabhai. You were away for some days afterwards and after that I got entangled in many things.

I am quite agreeable to the conference suggested by Mridula to coordinate the work of recovery of abducted women in East and West Punjab as well as in the States. The only difficulty I suppose is the fixing of a suitable date. Neogy is away for a few days in Calcutta. I understand you will be going away for a brief period also. I shall be away from the 12th to the 14th April and then again from the 22nd onwards. If the conference could be held sometime between the 15th and the 20th April, it will suit me and probably Neogy also. It is important that East Punjab should be represented by a Minister.

As for recovery of Kashmiri women from Pakistan, it will certainly be desirable for the United Council for Relief and Welfare² to take charge of this in cooperation with the International Red Cross and the Friends Service Unit. There are certain obvious difficulties in our dealing with Sardar Ibrahim and his 'Azad Kashmir' government. We do not recognise that Government or Sardar Ibrahim in any official capacity, nor do we think him at all a desirable person to deal with. I have not particularly liked Mridula Sarabhai going to him but I suppose this could not be helped in the circumstances.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation and to Rameshwari Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The United Council for Relief and Welfare (U.C.R.W.) was founded by Lady Mountbatten in 1947 to deal with the relief and welfare problems and coordinate the work of all the refugee relief organisations.

3. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
15 April 1948

My dear Bardoloi,

Your letter of the 31st March. We have been distressed at reports of harassment of passengers. As you know a conference is being held in Calcutta to consider all such problems and I presume you are present there.

The double immigration of Hindus and Muslims into Assam must make difficulties for you. We are having similar difficulties here. There is no bar to individuals coming, but I think you would be justified in stopping large groups from coming, unless they come with your approval.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. The Return of Muslims¹

The influx or the return of Muslims to Delhi and other parts of India from Pakistan has raised certain difficulties and apprehension. It has been suggested that we should revise our policy in regard to permitting these people to return to India. When necessary this also may well be revised. But as a matter of fact that policy does not or should not permit the unauthorised influx of any people in large numbers into India. While individuals may come, and indeed it is difficult to stop them, it should be clearly understood that no large movements are to be permitted, without close scrutiny and special arrangements being made. Even from the point of view of those returning this is necessary as otherwise they are likely to get stranded. The problem is also to be looked at from the security point of view.

2. The general rules we have laid down for people who want to cross the West-East Punjab border should be followed in other parts of the border between India and Pakistan, more specially in Western Pakistan. That is to say that where any large group intends to come to India they must inform some authority connected with India who will thereupon find out why they want to come back, where they want to go to, and if arrangements have

1. Note to his Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 16 April 1948. J.N. Collection.

been made at the other end to receive them. Only when he is satisfied about these points can he give any permit or facilitate arrangements for their return. This procedure will check these large groups from coming and control movements.

3. I saw somewhere recently that a through train is going to run between Delhi and Lahore. While this is desirable from many points of view, this might well add to the influx from Pakistan. I do not know how far it will be possible to control passengers who might come in groups or large numbers. Please enquire into this matter. It is desirable not to precipitate a step which might add to our difficulties.

4. Please inform the various ministries concerned as also the East Punjab Government.

5. Nankana Sahib¹

I attach a copy of a resolution passed recently by the Delhi branch of the Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. Certain rather fantastic proposals have been made during the past months about Nankana Sahib, for instance, that it should be treated as an independent territory like the Vatican City.² That could not be thought of. But some attempts should be made to facilitate the visit of Sikhs to Nankana Sahib at the time of the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Singh. On the last such occasion no Sikhs could go. I think that we might approach the Pakistan Government in good time now and ask them that arrangements should be made next time to permit Sikhs to visit this famous place of pilgrimage. I do not know of the date, but I imagine it is still about seven or eight months distant.

1. Note to Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, 17 April 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. In December 1947 it was suggested that though there were hundreds of *gurdwaras* spread all over West Punjab, Nankana Sahib deserved special treatment. Therefore, Nankana Sahib should be given the status of a "sovereign independent state" on the analogy of the Vatican City in the heart of Italy.

6. To Akbar Hydari¹

New Delhi
3 May 1948

My dear Hydari,

Your letter of the 30th April.

I entirely agree with you that migration either of Hindus or Muslims into Assam on any large scale should be avoided. This general principle might be applied anywhere in India at present as it is a disturbing factor and more specially in Assam for the reasons you mention. We shall support you in any steps that your Government takes to this effect. We do not want any barrier to free movement but a large influx of people should certainly be avoided. You can tell Bardoloi of this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
5 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a sheaf of letters from you today.

I want very much to go to Mussoorie² to discuss various matters with you. But I fear I cannot do so till sometime after the 22nd of this month. I had a talk with Rajendra Babu and provisionally I have fixed 24 May for my visit to Mussoorie. I shall try to have two days there. Work here accumulates so much that it is difficult to run away from it.

About Muslims coming to India from Pakistan, the matter is undoubtedly serious.³ So far as large numbers are concerned, I believe this relates to the Meos.⁴ I do not think that any policy discussion is necessary on this

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Patel was in Mussoorie and Dehra Dun between 25 April and 3 July 1948 for reasons of health.
3. On 19 May 1948, the Government of India issued a communique stating that while it would welcome the return of Muslim evacuees from Pakistan, such return should be "subject to any interest that may have been created in pursuance of plans for rehabilitation of non-Muslim refugees". Large-scale one-way movement of evacuees was no more to be permitted.
4. Meos are a Muslim tribe found in the hilly regions of Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur and are also scattered over Delhi.

subject as there is general agreement that this inflow should not be encouraged.⁵ The real question is how to do it. We have issued instructions to all the parties concerned to discourage this. Even the train service which was to have run between Lahore and Amritsar has been postponed.⁶ There is little traffic between West Punjab and East Punjab of this kind now, except stray people who may come across. But there is considerable traffic, I believe, on the Sind-Rajputana border. People come by roundabout ways. The only real way of stopping them is to guard effectively the long north-west frontier of Rajputana.

About Frank Anthony, no one has ever thought of him as the Governor of Madras.

We have to come to swift decisions about :

(1) Governor of Bengal, (2) Governor of Madras, (3) Ambassador in Washington, and (4) Deputy High Commissioner in East Bengal.⁷

I confess that I find great difficulty in selecting persons for these offices. Mountbatten has been pressing me to let Katju go to Calcutta as suggested by Rajaji and Bidhan Roy. You and I had reacted against this proposal and, of course, Mahtab did likewise. But I am beginning to think that perhaps stress of circumstances might force us to ask Katju.

We have had some very odd news from our office in Karachi about R.A.F. planes⁸ coming to Karachi and going on to Hyderabad in some numbers, presumably carrying arms. It is a little difficult to verify this. If there is any truth at all in it, it is a very serious matter.

I have not met Dr. Ambedkar, but I wrote to him at length and you must have received a copy of my letter.⁹ It was because I wrote to him that

5. A fact-finding committee of officials and non-officials reported on 13 July that out of 4,01,596 Meos in Gurgaon district and Alwar and Bharatpur regions, 1,93,085 had migrated to Pakistan and of these 9,556 had returned to India.
6. Railway services between Delhi and Lahore, scheduled to commence from 20 April 1948, were postponed as they might encourage influx of Meos and other Muslims from Pakistan.
7. On 11 June, Kailas Nath Katju was appointed the Governor of West Bengal; on 13 August, the Maharaja of Bhavnagar was appointed the Governor of Madras. B. Rama Rao was appointed India's Ambassador to Washington.
8. The Indian officials reported that the aircraft engaged in supplying arms and ammunition to Hyderabad State were coming either from Pakistan or from an Arab country.
9. Writing to Ambedkar on 27 April 1948, Nehru gave his reactions to and sought clarifications on Ambedkar's reported speech before the Scheduled Castes Federation in Lucknow on 25 April 1948. See *post*, pp. 373 and 374.

he issued a press statement.¹⁰ This press statement has not been received well by the press or by others. I feel, however, that we should not insist on anything more from him. I intend having a talk with him also.

My programme is: 9 to 11 May—Kashmir, 13 to 17 May—Mashobra, 24 to 25 May—Mussoorie, 28 May—Gwalior, and 31 May to 3 June—Ootacamund.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

10. On 2 May 1948, Ambedkar stated that by denying separate electorates to the scheduled castes, the British Cabinet Mission doomed their political future. While his intention was to serve the scheduled castes from within the Congress Government, he would ask them to form a separate political party to gain a bargaining power and check the Government from becoming dictatorial. If the scheduled castes and backward communities united, they would form a majority and might even rule the country.

8. Cable to Amtul Salam¹

Thank you² for your telegram. I quite appreciate what you say and we have no desire to bring unfair pressure on anyone. Your noble mission is ours and we are equally interested in its success.³ We cannot prevent newspapers from giving publicity to facts but for our part we wish to act only so as to further your cause which is ours. We have drawn attention of Pakistan Ministers to facts which have led you to fast. You will not deny me the right to be concerned about you both in personal capacity and for cause for which you work. I earnestly trust that grave step that you have taken will awaken conscience of all concerned and induce them to help you in achieving your objective. I trust also that you will give consideration to other factors and not continue your fast if immediate objective is attained.

1. New Delhi, 6 May 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. 1906-1985; adopted daughter and disciple of Mahatma Gandhi since 1930; organised rehabilitation work at Borkamta in Bengal, 1944-46, and in Noakhali, October 1946-48; established Kasturba Kendras, homes for destitute women, at Rajpura in Punjab.
3. Amtul Salam had been working in Bahawalpur State in Pakistan since 20 March 1948 for the recovery and rehabilitation of abducted women and children. She went on an indefinite fast on 3 May to protest against the slow progress and refusal of the State authorities to cooperate in this task. She broke her fast on 11 May following the assurance by the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur of cooperation and personal help.

9. To P. C. Ghosh¹

New Delhi

6 May 1948

My dear Prafulla Babu,

I am not quite sure yet what the final outcome of Cabinet reshuffling might be in Calcutta. In the event of your being out of it, I would earnestly urge you to accept the proposal I made when I met you, that is, to become our Joint High Commissioner for eastern Pakistan. I am sorry that I cannot have a High Commissioner in Dacca in existing circumstances. But apart from the name of Joint High Commissioner, in everything you will be of the same status as High Commissioner and will deal with us directly.

It is not necessary for me to point out the vital importance of this appointment. The whole future of East Bengal might well depend on the tact, firmness and ability of our High Commissioner there. I am quite sure there is no one more suited for this work than you are. Your very presence at Dacca will make vast difference and will give confidence to the Hindus in East Bengal. The problem of their migrating to West Bengal will be largely solved. We are living through critical times with the possibility of grave developments in the south. We have therefore to be particularly careful to what the repercussions might be in East Bengal. Your presence there will help greatly in steadying the position.

May I request you to send a telegram signifying your assent to this proposal. We shall then discuss further details.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
6 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I enclose a letter² from Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru about the settlement of Harijan families in East Punjab.³ I do not know how you are proceeding about this matter and how far you are in a position to give effect to her proposal. But generally speaking I entirely agree with what she says. We owe a duty to these Harijans and our principles also lead us to a performance of this duty.

It is also worth remembering that in any agrarian settlement we do not revive the evils of landlordism which is being liquidated in other parts of India.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(82)/48-PMS.
2. Not available.
3. In his reply of 29 June 1948, Bhargava wrote that in 1947 the Government of East Punjab allotted land on a uniform basis to owners and tenants from West Punjab and so over 6,000 Harijan refugee families received more than 65,000 acres of land. He had also made arrangements to fill the posts created by the emigration of Muslims by appointing Harijans.
4. In May 1948, the Government of East Punjab adopted a policy of quasi-permanent allotment of land whereby land was to be given, under a system of graded cuts and standard acres, to the evacuees who owned land in West Punjab before partition.

11. Telegram to Gopichand Bhargava¹

With reference to West Punjab Government's complaint of your Government's refusal to hand over Muslim boys of Reformatory School, Delhi, I suggest that these boys should be handed over immediately regardless of what West Punjab Government may say or do.²

1. New Delhi, 12 May 1948. File No. 16-4/48/Pak-I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. The Prime Minister of West Punjab had complained that following an agreement between the officials of the two Dominions, Pakistan had handed over the non-Muslim inmates of reformatories to Indian officials but the same was not done by India.

12. Re-employment of Refugee Teachers¹

The refugee problem has long overwhelmed us. We have battled against it bravely and no doubt much has been done. Nevertheless the results after eight months are not as satisfactory as they might have been. The problem may be split up in its various aspects and dealt with accordingly.

2. I am writing this note specially about the refugee teachers. I believe that a great deal has been done to secure employment for them. I have not got exact figures but I am told that there were originally seven thousand refugee teachers and that about four thousand of these have secured some kind of employment. If these figures are correct, about three thousand still remain. I think that the employment of four thousand is very creditable; nevertheless three thousand or so still remain.

3. Another set of figures supplied to me by the Refugee Teachers' Association gives three thousand as their membership of whom about half, i.e., 1,500, have been employed.

4. It seems to me that it should be relatively easy to find some temporary employment at least for every teacher. Instead of keeping any such persons in camp and giving relief to them, it is far better to employ them in some teaching work and to pay them some allowance for it. Not only are there vast numbers of refugee children to be catered for, either in camps or elsewhere, but also there is our general programme of literacy and we can push this programme by using these teachers almost immediately. It is possible that the standards may not be up to the mark and we may have to pick and choose later on. But for the present temporary arrangements can surely be made when on the one hand there are unemployed teachers and on the other hand children waiting to be taught. Indeed some of these teachers can be used for the adult literacy campaign also.

5. There are two ways of approaching this problem (1) some kind of permanent employment in a vacancy or in a new post; (2) temporary employment for teaching which may later be converted into permanent one. Perhaps we have been thinking too much in terms of permanent employment which necessarily is limited. That attempt should continue but at the same time more stress might be laid on temporary arrangements not merely from the point of view of providing some relief to the teachers but also of helping in the education of children who lack it at present.

1. Note to Ministry of Education, 20 May 1948. File No. 29(4)/48-PMS.

6. I suppose that the problem thus far has been chiefly tackled by (1) the Education Ministry; (2) the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry; (3) the East Punjab Government; (4) the Delhi Administration. It will have to continue to be tackled separately by these governmental institutions. It would be advisable, however, to deal with this refugee teachers' problem as somewhat separate from the general refugee problem. For this purpose the Education Ministry might take charge of it, specially in regard to certain aspects of it. Naturally, the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry would be intimately connected and would have to be consulted. The East Punjab Government would, of course, have the responsibility in its own province.

7. I presume that the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry has collected some records and statistics about these teachers. It seems advisable that the Education Ministry might open a small department and an office to deal with refugee teachers. All information relating to them might be handed over to the Education Ministry by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. The opening of an office would bring this particular problem in proper focus and prevent refugee teachers wandering aimlessly all over the place. They would know where to go to and what to say. In this office some refugee teachers might also be employed as they would be of help and they could keep in direct touch with other refugee teachers.

8. Perhaps it might be desirable for the East Punjab Government also to have some such office attached to their Education Department.

9. The opening of such a department and office would help us not only in fully appreciating the nature of the problem but also in facilitating the proper employment, temporary or otherwise, of these teachers. That department would keep in touch with provincial governments and through them with local bodies.

10. Probably the Transfer Bureau of the Labour Ministry is also connected with this matter and will have to be consulted.²

11. There appear to be some obvious ways of employing these refugee teachers. Temporary schools should be opened in local areas even if some equipment is lacking so as to provide schooling to the children there who might otherwise lack it. This may be the business of the local bodies. The provincial governments should see that this is done. I feel sure that there is plenty of room for more schools to be opened in East Punjab, Delhi and

2. A Transfer Bureau was set up to tackle the problem of re-employment of government employees who had left Pakistan and opted for service in India.

elsewhere. In opening these schools the normal rules and regulations of the Education Department need not be followed as they are temporary ventures which can be made permanent later.

12. Where there are overcrowded class-rooms, more teachers might be taken in. Also the double shift system might be introduced; existing double shifts in schools and colleges should not be closed down until other arrangements are made.

13. In this connection private enterprise might also be encouraged and perhaps a small grant for the use of an empty school building might be given. It might be worthwhile experimenting with one or more new temporary schools to be run completely by these refugee teachers. They might be given a building and may be a small grant and told to go ahead.

14. I understand there is a circular of the Home Department (Transfer Bureau) which discourages the employment of teachers from non-Government recognised schools. I do not know what the terms of this circular are. It is obvious that Government employees should be given preference in employment but where there are vacancies and competent men are available non-Government service men might certainly be employed.

15. These are some of the suggestions only. I am sure that educational experts can suggest many other ways and means. My point is that the matter should be handled specifically as an urgent educational problem as well as the problem of giving relief to these refugee teachers. For this purpose there must be some concentration of effort and it seems to me that the Education Ministry is best suited for that. I suggest that my suggestions might be considered at a meeting of representatives of the Education Ministry, Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry, Home Ministry and of Labour Ministry. Perhaps representatives of the Delhi Administration might also be invited. The Education Ministry might take the initiative in calling this meeting.

16. In any event a start should be made by opening an office for registration of refugee teachers and where such registration has already taken place this data should be handed over to this new office. This office should have some refugee teachers associated with it.

17. I hope that a similar line would be taken by the East Punjab Government.

18. I am sending a copy of this note to all the Ministries mentioned above as well as to the East Punjab Government and the Delhi Administration.

19. There is, I understand, an All-India Refugee Teachers' Association. This might be contacted as it will be able to give many particulars and to help in other ways. This association appears to have representatives specially in Ludhiana and Delhi.

20. I shall be grateful if I am informed of the steps taken.

13. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
20th May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,
Your letter of the 17th May.

About Himachal Pradesh,² I entirely agree with you that there should be full coordination and cooperation. I am drawing the attention of the States Ministry to this.

From your letter I have learnt for the first time about Muslims from Jammu going to Chamba. I know nothing about this. I see no reason why they should not go back to Chamba. How many are concerned and how are they going to settle down there? I mean who is making arrangements for them? In any event it seems absurd for Hindus to leave Chamba. I agree with you that this changeover of population is not desirable and should be discouraged. Exactly what you wish me to do in the matter is not clear. You can act on the Chamba side and the Kashmir Government should act on the other side. It might perhaps be worthwhile for some representative of the Kashmir Government to come over to Chamba and see these Muslims. Anyhow more facts are needed. If you like you can communicate with the Kashmir Government directly on this subject.

About paragraph 11 of your letter, I am also very worried. I am prepared to do my utmost in the matter but I feel that you as Premier must take a lead to put an end to these mutual factions in East Punjab.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Himachal Pradesh differed from similar units such as the Matsya Union and Saurashtra insofar as it had no Rajpramukh. It was to be a centrally-administered area under a Lieutenant Governor who would be assisted by an advisory council of three rulers.

14. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I wrote to you once² about the fate of Harijans in East Punjab. More reports have reached me about their condition and about a crisis developing in regard to them. Naturally they are not prepared to go back to the same low status of serfdom which has been their lot for these many years. We have ourselves taught them in the past to object to this condition. I understand that they demand some land however small and refuse to be just tenants at will labouring for others. There appears to be a strong feeling in this matter and this may lead to fairly serious consequences.

I had hoped soon after the disturbances and the migration that we might take advantage of this misery to evolve a juster social system in regard to the land at least.³ The Congress policy, as you know, is to abolish landlordism and bills are pending in various assemblies to give effect to this policy. It appears that in spite of the disaster in the Punjab more or less the same agrarian system is being reintroduced.

Apart from present difficulties, this will surely give rise to the same trouble which had led to the abolition of the zamindari system in various provinces. The tenants in the Punjab will see that across the border zamindari has gone while they still remain in the same low condition of either as tenants or labourers without land. They are sure to agitate and create trouble.

I know that in the Punjab, normally speaking, there were no big zamindars as in the U.P., Bihar and Bengal, or at any rate there were very few of them.⁴ Nevertheless, there were these semi-serfs and it is surely our policy to raise them from that old status.

This raises a question of principle of far-reaching importance and I hope you and your Government will consider it in that light. I think that the least that could be done is to allot some land at least to the Harijans. There may not be enough to go round but the principle must be given effect to. Also the amount of land given to other individuals should be strictly limited on the basis of peasant proprietorship and not of landlordism. This question of Harijans may well become an all-India issue, as indeed it is tending

1. File No. 29(82)/48-PMS.

2. See *ante*, p. 109.

3. Nehru had said: "Since Congress is pledged to the abolition of zamindari it will definitely retard social progress if landlordism, which has been uprooted from West Punjab, is sought to be rehabilitated once again in East Punjab, and so steps should be taken to abolish landlordism in East Punjab".

4. The Governments of the U.P., Bihar and Madras had adopted measures for the abolition of the zamindari system.

to become. It will be difficult for us to justify ourselves before the public if we leave the Harijans in the Punjab in their deplorable condition. I do hope that your Government will still be able to consider your agrarian policy in the light of the remarks I have made.

I was glad to find that you are trying to induce the people in camps to do work. I understand that on their refusal to do so rations have been stopped. This appears to be a right procedure, but unfortunately this also seems to have fallen on the Harijans and in some places they had no rations for four or five days. Perhaps if they were tactfully approached, there would be less difficulty. Official procedure and orders lack the human touch. In any event women and children might be allowed some scope and not deprived of their rations.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
26 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I rather hesitate to write to you about certain subjects because I have been forced to the conclusion that your approach and the approach of the East Punjab Government to some problems is different from mine. These different approaches inevitably lead to certain confusion and sometimes to a commitment made not being honoured. Both the East Punjab Government and the Government of India have to deal with the West Punjab and Pakistan Governments from day to day and if our methods vary or our approaches are different, it is natural that the Pakistan Government should profit by our differences and blame us for not doing something which we had given them to understand we would do.

I am myself convinced that both from the moral and the political points of view our policy should be to do the right thing, even though Pakistan

might do the wrong thing. The process of retaliation on both sides and a desire to injure the other side and thus exercise some pressure, may on special occasions be justified.

But generally speaking this only leads to an unending succession of retaliations on both sides with consequent injury to both. What is worse it produces an atmosphere of bitterness and conflict which is also injurious to both. Such lessons as I have imbibed from Mahatma Gandhi's practice and teachings and such experiences as I have gathered from the study of public affairs lead me to one and the same conclusion: that pettiness does not pay and that hatred and retaliation bring evil in their train. As I have said above, a state has inevitably to protect its rights and even go to war for this purpose where no other recourse is available. But these are exceptional cases which have to be dealt with exceptionally and after exhausting all other ways. For my part, I shall endeavour to act up to the general policy I have indicated above.

I mentioned to you and Sardar Swaran Singh a small matter of the Muslim boys in the reformatory in Delhi. This subject had cropped up previously too on several occasions. I was surprised to notice your reaction. The matter itself is of no great importance in the larger scheme of things, but it was significant of the whole background of the policy pursued by the East Punjab Government. That policy, I feel sure and I know from reports received, is producing a very unfavourable impression on neutral outsiders. One cannot brush this aside by saying that the other side started this business. That may be so. But there is no ending to this business unless we walk out of the vicious circle. Meanwhile, our reputation is not high and certainly I feel that we are not acting wisely or even narrowly in our interest.

The stoppage of canal water some time ago has brought certain consequences which are troubling us now and which may lead to continuing conflict on this and like issues and a very large expenditure of money by East Punjab as a result of the new issues that have arisen. No government can act in an isolated way without thinking of the results of that action in every other field.

It is because of this that I hesitate to write to you about such matters. But Sunderlalji came to see me a short while ago and asked me specially to write to you. He has, I believe, seen you himself. Nevertheless I give some of the points he raised before me:—

- (1) It appears that Chaudhry Yasim Khan,² a leader of the Gurgaon Meos, was arrested by the Delhi Police at the instance of the Punjab Police about a month and a half ago. He is now in Delhi District Jail. It is not clear to me why the Delhi Police should arrest and not the Punjab Police. I enquired from the Delhi Police and they told me that they had nothing against him. Apart from this question the more important matter is whether he should be arrested and detained. I have no personal knowledge, but Sunderlalji told me, and he had interviewed Yasim Khan in prison, that he was convinced that Yasim Khan would be helpful outside rather than unhelpful. He was under the impression that you were agreeable to his release.
- (2) The eviction of Meos is taking place in Gurgaon from houses belonging to them which they had left for a while and subsequently reoccupied. Apparently this is under the Evacuees Ordinance. There may be some technical difficulty, but on the merits it seems odd that a person should be evicted from his own house. In Delhi we have specially issued instructions to get over this technical difficulty.
- (3) The Meo High School at Nuh, Gurgaon District, has money frozen in the bank. It cannot function for lack of this money. Also some individual bank accounts have been frozen.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Mohammad Yasim Khan and his associates were organising the Meos and inciting them to demand an "Azad-Meo State" and not to cooperate with the local authorities.

16. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
29 May 1948

My dear Bardoloi,

I have seen the letters written by Neogy to you on the subject of holding a conference with Pakistan to discuss the question of migration of Muslims from East Bengal to Assam. I am told that you are opposed to such a conference being held even for the purpose of discussion of the problem, and that your Government have officially approached the Government of India for powers to control immigration of persons from outside into Assam. The Agreement reached at the Inter-Dominion Conference held in Calcutta in April has been ratified by both the Governments of India and Pakistan and I cannot see how we can refuse to implement that part of it which concerns the holding of another Inter-Dominion Conference for the purpose of discussion of the question of migration of Muslims from East Bengal to Assam.² Personally I do not see that we shall lose anything by having a discussion with Pakistan on the subject; whether or not we can agree with their view is a different matter and on this I have no doubt that the Government of India will be largely guided by the advice of your Government. I shall be glad therefore if you will reconsider your view and let us have a memorandum on the subject so that preliminary steps can be taken to arrange the proposed conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 8-7/48-Pak. I, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. The agreement stipulated that at the next conference of the representatives of the two Dominions, the question of migration of Muslims between Assam and East Bengal be discussed and till then no forcible emigration be allowed. Pakistan feared that Muslims migrating into East Bengal from Assam could not be gainfully employed.

17. Organisation of Relief in Kashmir¹

1. The Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry have been considering the organisation of camps for refugees in Jammu. Mr. Kirpalani² and others visited Jammu for this purpose and produced a scheme which involved an expenditure of a crore of rupees during six months or a year. The question then arose of financial sanction for this large sum.

The matter is urgent and there is no doubt that we have to organise this relief camp or camps in Jammu. I think the financial approach is theoretical. Probably a considerable number of these refugees will be rehabilitated after two months or so. Many of them will do some work and thus be productive. Normally speaking we should undertake the organisation and medical relief. The Kashmir Government should be responsible for foodstuffs.

As the matter is urgent I suggest that immediate steps be taken to set up this camp. It would be desirable to have military officers in charge and General Cariappa was prepared to spare some. Our doctors should go there. What the future financial arrangements are going to be can meanwhile be discussed. But this should not come in the way of our starting a camp. I trust that urgent steps will be taken in this matter.

2. Another urgent matter relating to Kashmir is the organisation of proper publicity, more specially in the valley and round about. Mr. Azim Husain has prepared a report after a visit to Kashmir and this contains valuable suggestions. I discussed some of these with Sardar Patel at Mussoorie and he said that something should be done immediately in Kashmir on those lines.

One of the urgent needs is that of a transmitter for Srinagar. I understand that this is immediately available in Bombay. Newsprint also has to be sent.

Please enquire from Information and Broadcasting what steps are being taken.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 29 May 1948, J.N. Collection.

2. S.K. Kirpalani.

18. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

6 June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

I enclose a letter from K.C. Neogy, which came some days ago. I think his proposal is worth consideration. We should associate prominent refugees in the work of rehabilitation. I do not think we can remove some of the permanent members of the service. The department will not function if this is done. But there seems to be no reason why some changes and additions might not be made. I should like you to consider this matter and consult Neogy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

19. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi

7th June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

One of the first things that I should like you to do is to get in touch with the Development and Rehabilitation Board and make them feel that they will have your full help and cooperation. I should like you particularly to see Aftab Rai² and Mehr Chand Khanna. They have had some difficult time, more especially Mehr Chand Khanna, and they require every encouragement. Tell them to go ahead as fast as they can and function as an autonomous board as they are meant to be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1893); served in World War I with Indian Volunteers Ambulance Corps, 1914-16; in business in Lahore, 1919-43; Deputy Director-General (Supplies), Ministry of Industries and Supplies, 1943; Materials Economy Officer, 1944-45; Director-General of Disposals, 1947; Additional Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1948; Consul-General for India in Argentina, 1949; Charge d'Affaires of India in Brazil, 1949-50; Managing Director, Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., Bangalore, 1952-55; later Adviser, Industries, Ministry of Rehabilitation, for some time.

20. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
7th June 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

As I have mentioned to you the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation requires a chief. Neogy is now functioning as the Minister of Commerce. He is also looking after the Finance Ministry during Chetty's absence.

The work of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation is still very important and requires an energetic head. I propose to invite and appoint Shri Mohanlal Saksena as Minister of State in charge of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation.² Mohanlal Saksena is a member of the Constituent Assembly and has been functioning as Secretary of the Congress Party in the Assembly. Previously he was member of the Legislative Assembly. He is one of our senior men and has long been connected with Assembly and other public work. He is very popular in the Assembly and is a hard worker. This appointment as a Minister of State will be an innovation here. I think it will be a desirable innovation and I obtained Cabinet's sanction to it today. The Minister of State will have the full powers of a Minister so far as his own Department or Ministry is concerned but he will not be a Cabinet Minister. He will only attend meetings of the Cabinet when specially invited to do so in connection with his own subject. This, I believe, is the practice in England and I should like it to be adopted more fully in India.

I might mention that that part of the work of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation which relates to dealings with Pakistan has been entrusted to Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar who is fully conversant with this.

I am taking the necessary steps regarding Mohanlal Saksena's appointment and asking him to take charge from tomorrow. It will be necessary for him to take the oath of office but this can be done on any suitable day.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (19)/47-PMS.

2. Mohanlal Saksena took over as Minister of State in the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation on 8 June 1948.

21. To N.V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi

9 June 1948

My dear Gadgil,

Your letter of the 29th May. There is no question of Koenigsberger² arriving at any final settlement without reference to us but what the Cabinet insisted upon was that immediate steps should be taken towards setting up a building factory.

This question of delay in building has become one of the most urgent importance. It is clear that our present P.W.D. procedure, however good it may be otherwise, leads to tremendous delay. Public criticism is very strong and I myself entirely agree with it. During war time vast numbers of buildings grew up. Here we are facing an even greater emergency and we just cannot get a move on. I have discussed this matter in the Cabinet and there is a general feeling that we must change our procedure so as to expedite building.

It is also stated that P.W.D. houses are more expensive. People are prepared to build but they have not got a chance to do so till they go through the proper procedure. Meanwhile, vast sums are being spent on feeding refugees. I want this matter to be considered by the Cabinet at a very early stage so that we might find out a speedier method of dealing with this problem.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(67)/48 (Vol. D)-PMS.

2. Otto H. Koenigsberger (b. 1908) ; urban planner, architect and civil engineer; Chief Architect and Planner, Mysore State, 1939 ; Director of Housing, Government of India, 1948-51; became an Indian citizen in March 1950; currently editor of *Habitat International*.

22. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi

9 June 1948

My dear Bhimsenji,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th June.² I am grateful for your offer of help in rehabilitating and resettling refugees in Delhi. I am afraid however that it will not be easy for us to give you or any individual power to requisition buildings, shops, vacant sites, etc. This may require some kind of an ordinance and it is hardly desirable to issue an ordinance on such subjects. But I am sure that your help would be of great use and I suggest that you meet Mohanlal Saksena, the Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation, and discuss this matter with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Sachar wrote that his experience in evacuation and care of refugees at Lahore and Amritsar in August-December 1947 and his knowledge of the people of the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan and Punjab could help in tackling the problem of refugees in Delhi.

23. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi

9 June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

I enclose a letter from Maulana² and a note by Mridula Sarabhai. Various suggestions are made in this latter note.³ I do not know if all of them are feasible. I think however that it would be a good thing if you took personal interest in this Delhi matter. I have not been very satisfied with happenings in Delhi and I have occasionally held meetings in regard to them. If necessary I shall do so again. But this is specially your province and you should deal with it. I suggest that you might keep in touch with Uma Shankar Dikshit, the Custodian. He has had a hard time and been criticised because he could

1. File No. 2(143)/48-PMS.
2. Not available.
3. Suggestions were made to improve the work of the Shanti Dal for checking anti-national and anti-social activities and for the maintenance of communal harmony in Delhi.

not please everybody. But as you know he is a man of great integrity and hard work. I am not so sure about his assistants.

About the Shanti Dal I have encouraged them, but I have told them clearly that they should function non-officially. Officials can help them without joining them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi,
10 June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

You spoke to me today about the Meos in Gurgaon and Alwar and Bharatpur States. I did not give you a clear reply because the matter a very complicated one and I am not certain in my own mind what should be done. It has to be considered from the practical point of view as well as the legal. I am not at all sure that legally speaking the East Punjab Government is competent to take possession and dispose of lands and houses of Indian citizens who had temporarily vacated them without going to Pakistan. If they go now, as I believe some are thinking of doing, the matter would become even more difficult to handle. But it is not the law that worries me but the practical consequences of any act that we might indulge in. I should like you therefore to study this question, consult Vinoba Bhave and others who have been associated with this, and then we can discuss it more fully between ourselves, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and some representatives of the States Ministry. Mridula Sarabhai is also greatly interested in this problem and knows something about it. Gandhiji took interest in it also and gave some assurances.² Naturally we do not want to go against any assurances that he may have given.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mahatma Gandhi had said in December 1947 that he could never be reconciled to the exchange of populations. To uproot "lakhs and lakhs of men, women and children from their homes is a devilish act. Those who want to go to Pakistan of their own accord are free to do so. No one will obstruct them. Nor will anyone compel them to leave the Union."

25. Muslims of Buria¹

I understand that the military stationed at Buria in Gurgaon district have very recently been withdrawn on the 9th June morning at the instance of the East Punjab authorities. This matter has been under consideration for some time and there were two views. The East Punjab Government was of opinion that they could not keep on the military indefinitely. On the other hand some people including, I understand, Vinoba Bhawe and Jajooji² felt that the withdrawal of the military at this stage was risky and perhaps even dangerous.³ Without going into the merits of this case it seems to me that the sudden withdrawal now, when the air is full of rumours of trouble, was very undesirable. It is not a question of keeping the military there indefinitely but rather to tide over this difficult period which may last a few weeks. There can be no doubt that there must be consternation in Buria amongst Muslims at the withdrawal of the military. Conditions are not good in Gurgaon district or roundabout and any incident may lead to grave consequences. I think therefore we should take no risk. General Thorat,⁴ who is apparently at Jullundar, does not know about this withdrawal and expressed surprise. Normally I would not interfere with any of these arrangements, but in view of the possible risks involved and the views expressed by some reliable persons who are working there, I think that immediate steps should be taken to send back the military for a few weeks. We can consider the matter further a little later. We must take no risks now. I understand that only a platoon of military was placed there.

Will you therefore please get into touch with the proper authorities including General Thorat and the East Punjab Government and tell them that I desire military to be reposted in Buria as previously at least for a brief period and till the present crisis is passed? This must be done immediately.

1. Note to his Principal Private Secretary, 10 June 1948. File no. 7(51)/48(Vol.I)-PMS.
2. Srikrishnadas Jaju (1882-1955); associate of Mahatma Gandhi; took active part in *Bhoodan* and *Sampattidan* movements; author of *The Philosophy of Sampattidan*.
3. The visit of Vinoba Bhava to Buria in the third week of April 1948 helped to reduce communal tension and created mutual confidence between Muslim refugees and their Hindu neighbours.
4. Lt. General S.P.P. Thorat (b. 1906); commissioned in army 1926; G.O.C., Delhi area, April 1948-50; Chief of General Staff, Army Headquarters, 1950-53; Commander, Indian Custodian Force in Korea, 1953-54; G.O.C.-in-C., Eastern Command, 1957-61.

26. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
14th June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

I enclose copy of an application about Faridabad, District Gurgaon, near Delhi. The place is quite near Delhi city just across the border. I enclose also copy of my letter to Dr. Gopichand on the subject which will give you all the facts.² I have asked Syed Bashir Ali³ to meet you and give you any further information on the subject. I think that this requires full investigation. There are legal points involved also and I just don't see how we can treat these people on the same level as those who may have gone to Pakistan. In some ways the case is similar to that of the Meos in Gurgaon but in other ways it is stronger.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(187)/48-PMS.
2. See the following item.
3. Lecturer in Chemistry, Muslim University, Aligarh.

27. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
14th June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I enclose a copy of an application I have received from Syed Bashir Ali, M.Sc., Senior Lecturer in Chemistry, Aligarh University. This relates to the Muslims who used to live in Faridabad, District Gurgaon, near Delhi. It appears that about 3,000 of these people lived there and they were chiefly engaged in henna (*mehndi*) cultivation. Under pressure of events they were compelled to leave this place. Many of them drifted to Delhi or other places in India, some went to Pakistan. It appears that they stuck to their native town in spite of difficulties and disturbances till the end of October.

The question that now arises is as to what should be done to these people who are anxious to return to their homes and their lands and cultivation. I suppose the *mehndi* cultivation is not being looked after now.

Although people were more or less forced to go out of this area, a distinction has to be made as between those who went to Pakistan and those

1. File No. 2(187)/48-PMS.

who still continue to remain in India. We may take it roughly that about 1,000 are still in India keenly desirous of returning to Faridabad and carry on their cultivation there. Legally speaking their case appears to be a very strong one, and it is not clear how they can be deprived of their property, even though they might have left under pressure. Otherwise too their case is deserving of consideration. These people cannot be treated as evacuees.

On the other hand, if their lands and houses have been allotted to Hindu or Sikh refugees from the West Punjab, it is difficult to dislodge these people unless adequate arrangements are made for them elsewhere. It may be possible to recognise their ownership of their property though no present change is made in the occupation of it. If this is done they would be entitled to rent etc. In law I should imagine they are clearly so entitled. Later, when other arrangements are made, possibly some occupation might also be given to them. It would be a pity if this specialised *mehndi* cultivation is allowed to deteriorate or fade away. There was an outside market for this and much of this henna went to foreign countries.

The people concerned appear to be quiet, decent and hardworking persons who lived at peace with their neighbours. I am told that their own neighbours would welcome them back.

I shall be grateful if you have this matter examined. I am asking our Relief Ministry also to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
15 June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

Lady Mountbatten visited Kurukshetra today and was at Ambala for some time. The account she has given of her talk with the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala² has amazed me. Her account has been corroborated by another person present. It appears that the Deputy Commissioner was offensive and rude to her. Why he should be offensive and rude to anybody, and more specially to Lady Mountbatten, who had gone on an errand of mercy, is more than I can imagine. I think that the Deputy Commissioner should be called upon to explain why he behaved in this manner.

1. File No. 7(77)/48-PMS.

2. Nakul Sen, I.C.S.

Apart from his impertinent behaviour he said something which I do not understand. He said that Muslims were being forcibly sent away from his district at the rate of about 2,000 a fortnight against their will, in accordance with some inter-Dominion agreement and the directions of the East Punjab Government. It appears that these Muslims are the so-called converted Muslims.

I do not know when any such decision was taken. It seems to me completely contrary to our general policy and the decisions we have taken at inter-Dominion conferences. We have repeatedly stated that we will not send any more Muslims forcibly from India to Pakistan. To send them now against their will appears to be a direct contravention of what we have decided. I know that some agreements have been arrived at in regard to converted persons. But surely this means that converted persons should be given an opportunity to go if they so wish. Obviously if we are not going to compel Muslims, who have not been converted, to go to Pakistan, much less can we compel Muslims who have been converted.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly enquire into this matter very soon and let me know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To C. M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
16th June 1948

My dear Trivedi,

I am enclosing a copy of a Hindi letter² received by me from Goswami Ganesh Dutt, also a copy of a letter I am sending to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava on this subject.³

I have written and telegraphed to Dr. Gopichand also about the misbehaviour of the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala towards Lady Mountbatten yesterday at Ambala. Lady Mountbatten had gone to Kurukshetra to bid goodbye to the refugees there and on her way back she stopped at Ambala. Quite needlessly the Deputy Commissioner used rather rude and

1. File No. 7(77)/48-PMS.

2. Not available.

3. See the next item.

offensive terms; other people noticed it also. At any time and towards any person this behaviour would have been bad but in the present instance it was peculiarly so, having regard to Lady Mountbatten's position, the enormous amount of work she has done for our people, and her last visit to say goodbye on the eve of her departure.

The D.C., Ambala, among other things, said something to the effect that thousands of Muslims were still being sent away to Pakistan against their wishes in accordance with some inter-Dominion agreement. He was referring to the converted Muslims. I was surprised to learn this because I am not aware of any inter-Dominion agreement which has given this direction. Of course converts have a right to be sent away if they so desire but there can or must be no compulsion in the matter and it is obvious from the D.C.'s remarks that compulsion was being exercised. This is against our general policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
16th June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Goswami Ganesh Dutt whom you know well. Goswamiji is a non-political person and a very earnest man who has gained wide popularity in the Punjab. He has no reason to give deliberately a wrong picture. There may of course be exaggeration in what he says. His report is a very painful document to read. Even if half of it is true, conditions in East Punjab are very unsatisfactory and have to be taken in hand at once.

There are many elements in East Punjab which are troublesome and these elements have existed for a long time past, long before the partition. The partition has aggravated the situation and created new problems. These problems are not likely to disappear by our ignoring them.

The first thing to get hold of when the situation is getting out of control is the administrative service, including police etc. From Goswami Ganesh Dutt's letter it would appear that all is not well with the services and in fact some of the difficulties are caused by the activities and behaviour of members of these services. Other reports rather confirm this.

1. File No. 7(77)/48-PMS.

I am writing to you separately about the behaviour of the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala towards Lady Mountbatten yesterday at Ambala. This may be an individual and rather personal matter but it has a wider consequence and shows how the services are getting lax and indisciplined.

I should like to draw your special attention as well as your Government's to the state of affairs referred to by Goswami Ganesh Dutt.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
16th June 1948

My dear Edwina,

Last night you mentioned to me that the D.C., Ambala, had been guilty of rude and offensive behaviour towards you during your brief stay in Ambala. You mentioned this to me rather casually and I have no doubt that you did not intend that I should take any steps in this matter. Nevertheless I have been greatly distressed by this incident and I feel that I cannot refrain from taking some steps. I have therefore addressed the Governor and Premier of East Punjab on the subject and informed them of what happened.

I had to address them also in regard to the other point mentioned by the D.C., Ambala, to you, that is the forcible removal of Muslims or Muslim converts to Pakistan which is entirely opposed to our general policy.

I hope you will forgive me for making this reference about this incident and will accept my apologies for the impertinence of the D.C. of Ambala.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(77)/48 PMS.

32. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
18th June 1948

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th June. I am grateful to the United Council for Relief and Welfare for their invitation to me to become their first Vice-President. It is an honour to be connected with an organisation which has done such good work during the past so many months and of which you have been the Chairman.² I am very glad to learn that you are continuing your association with the Council and will now be its patron. If there was no other adequate reason for associating myself with the Council, the fact that it might enable me to work with you in a common task would be reason enough.

I gladly accept the invitation to become the Vice-President of the Council.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 29(67)/48-PMS.
2. After Lady Mountbatten's departure, it was decided to make the Governor-General, C. Rajagopalachari, the Chairman and President, and Nehru the Vice-President of the United Council for Relief and Welfare. As a token of appreciation for her work, Lady Mountbatten was invited by the Council to become its patroness.

33. To C. M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
21 June 1948

My dear Trivedi,

I received your telegram about the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, last night. I have not yet received your letter on the subject. I gave a copy of your telegram to Lady Mountbatten at Palam airfield as she was leaving for England. She must have read it after her departure.

She has sent me a signal from the air: "I would be grateful if Deputy Commissioner, Ambala, could be assured of complete acceptance of his message and my good wishes for the future."

1. File No. 7(77)/48-PMS.

I might mention that I had written to you previously on this subject of my own accord and not at Lady Mountbatten's instance. In fact she was rather distressed that I should have written. The subject had come up rather casually in the course of a conversation when she had told me of the Deputy Commissioner's rather rude behaviour. She had not expected me to take any action, but I was distressed and I felt that I must write to the Premier and to you about it.

In view of Lady Mountbatten's message and her wish, I have no desire to pursue this matter any further and it may be considered as closed.

But I am interested in the fact that Muslims who have been converted are being forcibly sent away from East Punjab to Pakistan against their will. This raises an important question of policy and I am quite sure in my mind that this should not be done. Indeed that no one should be sent away against his will. Kindly let me know how this matter stands.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

34. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
23 June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

Your letter of the 21st June about the Deputy Commissioner, Ambala. As you perhaps know I communicated his apology to Lady Mountbatten and she sent a message for him. There the matter ends. I have not seen the full report that he has sent. But I am quite sure that Lady Mountbatten was not influenced by any extraneous matter. Whether Nakul Sen intended anything or not, his behaviour was discourteous. This was the opinion of others also. Possibly he is a nervous type of individual who cannot control himself properly.

I am surprised to read in your letter the reference to the inter-Dominion agreement regarding evacuation of Muslim converts. I wrote to you about this matter and pointed out there must be some mistake about this. I am not aware of any such inter-Dominion agreement and so far as I know it is our settled policy that no person should be sent away against his will. I

1. File No. 7(77)/48-PMS.

am anxious to know why this policy has not been observed. This is a matter of principle and I am very much concerned about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

I hope you have taken steps to finalise the appointment of the committee of three in regard to the Meos. This committee might be advised to keep in close touch with Shri Vinoba Bhave who as you know has been and is working among the Meos. It is essential that Vinoba Bhaveji's viewpoint² should be fully considered and his particular knowledge taken advantage of.

I am rather afraid of purely official committees because official committees have a tendency to view things from an office and to ignore the human factor of the situation. I suppose the committee of three will be a purely official committee. That cannot be helped but in issuing them instructions you might try to balance this factor by telling them to associate themselves with certain non-official elements who have been working among the Meos. Also representatives of Praja Mandals in Bharatpur and Alwar Matsya Union Ministry should of course be consulted.

You must have seen the report of the speech delivered by Vinoba Bhave last evening at Raj Ghat.³ I must say that I entirely agree with what he has said. I feel that this is one of the matters which, though not big in itself, involves important principles and may lead to far-reaching consequences. Therefore every care has to be taken that we decide rightly and in accordance with our declared policy and pledges. There is a definite connection between this business of our dealing with Meos and the Kashmir situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Vinoba Bhave had said that faulty allocation of land in rehabilitating the Meo refugees and their forceful conversion had taken place.
3. An appeal for immediate rehabilitation of the Meos stranded in Gurgaon district was made by Acharya Vinoba Bhave on 25 June. He said Meos were in a much worse plight than the refugees from Pakistan.

THE INTEGRATION OF STATES

1. To B. N. Rau¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1948

My dear B.N.,

The Maharaja of Bikaner² accompanied by his new Adviser, Mehr Chand Mahajan, came to see me today. They handed to me the enclosed paper.³ I have not read it, but on the face of it it does not appear very sensible or reasonable. However, in order to please the Maharaja, I said that I am quite agreeable to Mahajan meeting you and placing their viewpoint before you. Possibly Krishnamachari⁴ and someone else from the States may also want to see you in this connection. You might meet them and try to convince them of the reasonableness of what we are doing.

The Maharaja has a bee in his bonnet about sovereignty. As for the powers vesting in the Union and the States, there is a matter of agreement. I pointed out that inevitably the States will have to be approximate to the provinces.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. C.A. 21/Cons./48, Ministry of Law, Government of India.

2. Sadul Singh.

3. This note of 11 April 1948 suggested (1) the Union of India should deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications, and all residuary powers should vest in the provinces; (2) a provision should be made for constitutional guarantee of the rights, privileges and dignities of the Rulers; (3) the Supreme Court should not function as a court of appeal from even the State High Courts as the Rulers were the final authority in all judicial matters within the States; (4) a provision should be made for dual citizenship—of India and the State; and (5) the Draft Constitution should not contain any clause encroaching upon the sovereignty of the Rulers.

4. V.T. Krishnamachari.

2. The Union of Rajasthan¹

The formation of the Rajasthan Union² is one of the biggest events in the contemporary history of India. The true significance of the event can be judged

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Union at Udaipur, 18 April 1948. From *National Herald*, 19 April 1948.

2. The Union of Rajasthan was first formed on 25 March 1948 with nine States—Banswara, Bundi, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Kishangarh, Kota, Pratapgarh, Shahpura and Tonk. With Udaipur's inclusion, the Union was reconstituted on 18 April with the Maharana of Udaipur as the Rajpramukh for life and the rulers of Kota, Bundi and Dungarpur as the Vice-Presidents for five years. Manekyalal Verma was sworn in as Prime Minister.

only later when the history of this period is written. Never before has India experienced such upheavals in so short a time as it has during these past few months.

The great changes which are taking place now have to be viewed not in the context of the present-day circumstances, but in relation to the effects which they might produce in times to come. Seen from that angle, the formation of various unions is indeed a great event.

The end of British rule in India affected all aspects of our life. If after the transfer of power on August 15 we had succeeded in managing our affairs peacefully, India would have by now attained an enviable position in the comity of nations and could have exercised great influence in international affairs. But unfortunately it happened otherwise and certain enemies of India created disturbed conditions in the country. But at the same time while certain events disgraced us in the eyes of the world, other constructive forces led us towards progress and solidarity. The move to form the various unions of States was one such force.

The formation of these unions has not been to the liking of many people. But on important issues, affecting the lives of millions of people, we cannot attach too much importance to the personal likes and dislikes of a few individuals. The right or wrong of a thing cannot be judged by looking at it from personal angles. What matters really is the need of the time and what can be done to meet this need. It is our duty to act in accordance with the circumstances prevailing at present. One has to stick to certain basic principles, but one's duty has to be regulated by the ever-changing times and the force of events. Life is not static and if one does not adjust oneself to one's duties, then one would cease to grow and progress.

Rajasthan has suffered more than any other part of India, and that was because her people refused to move with the times. There was no dearth of chivalry or intelligence among them, but they had decided to remain in isolation from the rest of the world and that accounted for their fall. Life means movement and a society which refuses to move forward naturally meets its spiritual death.

The Rajasthan Union is the result of a desire on the part of the member States for mutual cooperation and help, and I hope they will work with harmony for the betterment of the life of the people. There are great difficulties in their way but if they stick to noble principles there is no reason why they should not be able to overcome them.

3. People's Goodwill Necessary for the States¹

The Indian States are quite old, but they existed so far not because of their own strength, but with the help of the British Government. The strength which they derived from them, however, ceased once the British handed over power to the people of India. In the new atmosphere the only source of strength for these States can be the goodwill of their people.

Rapid changes have taken place in the princely order of India. The six or seven hundred States which existed till last year have now been reduced to nearly thirty and the number might further decrease. I have no objection to their existing as separate units, but practical difficulties will force small States to join one union or the other.

I appeal to you all to give your full support to the new popular ministry which will be a one-party ministry and not a coalition if smooth working is to be ensured.

I am opposed to the *jagirdari* system, but we should try to solve this problem in a peaceful and just manner. The good of the general public should be our aim but our actions to achieve this aim should cause the least amount of friction.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Sajjan Niwas Garden, Udaipur, 18 April 1948. From *National Herald*, 19 April 1948.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
18 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned from Udaipur this evening at 7.30. The function passed off successfully.

2. On arrival at Udaipur, however, I found that some difficulties had arisen, and in fact the Prime Minister-to-be, Manekyalal Verma,² did not

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, pp. 395-396.
2. Manekyalal Verma (1897-1969); social and political worker of Rajasthan; organised peasant satyagraha against forced labour, 1918; led the Bajolia civil disobedience movement, 1921; Prime Minister of Rajasthan Union, 1948-49; member of Constituent Assembly, 1947-50, of Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, and of first Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

want to be sworn in at all at this stage. He and his colleagues felt that unless the full Ministry was previously decided upon, he should not get entangled in this business. They told me that attempts were being made to get the wrong kind of people in the Ministry, notably some *jagirdars*, and if this was so it would not be possible for Manekyalal Verma to function as Prime Minister.

3. There was little time to think of the names of the Ministries and I did not feel myself competent to say much in this matter. I told Manekyalal Verma and his colleagues that our general practice was that the Ministry should be appointed by the Prime Minister, though he should consult others, including of course the Maharana.³ But after full consultation the choice should be his. To raise the question of the personnel of the Ministry at the last moment would upset all the arrangements made. So I advised him to take his oath as Prime Minister having made it perfectly clear privately that he expected to have the Ministry of his choice and that if this was not done he might find it difficult to carry on. I explained this position to Ramamurthi⁴ also. I added further that if there was any difficulty later on, Manekyalal Verma and Ramamurthi might come to Delhi to consult the States Ministry. On this understanding Manekyalal Verma agreed and was duly sworn in.

4. During my brief stay in Udaipur I met some leaders of the Rajputana Praja Mandal separately and then later I met two or three hundred Praja Mandal workers who had come from various parts of Rajputana. I also met some representatives of *jagirdars*, *kshatriyas*, and a newly formed Kisan Sabha.

5. Many of the Praja Mandal people expressed a strong desire that Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner should be included in the United States of Rajasthan. The point, however, on which there was the greatest feeling, loudly expressed, was about Sirohi. I gathered that some of the Rules present also shared this feeling. It was said to me repeatedly that Sirohi⁵ should join Rajasthan, as it had been connected with it for 300 years or more in many ways and was

3. Bhopal Singh (1884-1955); a descendant of Maharana Pratap; became the ruler of Udaipur State in 1930; Maharajpramukh of Rajasthan, 1949-55.

4. S.V. Ramamurthi (1888-1964); joined I.C.S. 1911; served in the Madras Province in various capacities from 1917, Director of Agriculture, 1932-35; Collector and District Magistrate, Salem, 1935-38; Commissioner of Labour, 1938-39; Chief Secretary, Government of Madras, November 1940-May 1947; Premier of Udaipur State and Adviser to Rajasthan Union, 1948.

5. In his reply of 22 April 1948, Patel wrote that the people of Rajasthan wanted not Sirohi but Gokulbhai Bhatt, a prominent Congressman, who was also a member of the Constituent Assembly and the A.I.C.C.

linguistically and otherwise a part of it. I told them that I was not in a position to say anything as I did not know all the facts. But normally where there was a difference of opinion, the opinion of the people concerned should prevail. Anyway, I suggested there was no need to get excited about this question at this stage. Let other matters be settled and then they could discuss this with the States Ministry.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. Popular Participation in Nation Building¹

Maharaja Saheb,² Sisters and Brothers,

I had come to the city of Gwalior fourteen months ago to participate, as you may remember, in a meeting of the States People's Conference.³ There have been a great many changes in these fourteen months in India and in the princely States. Some good as well as bad things have happened. The dreams that we had dreamt for nearly thirty, forty years have come true. But the manner of the fulfilment of those dreams was not very nice. Some dreams were rudely shattered too.

So in the months that have gone by we have felt great happiness as well as sorrow. A nation which believes in very high standards or hopes to make a great name for itself in the world cannot do so by doing evil. So long as it deviates from the path of truth, its goals cannot be achieved. As you know, we had accepted the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in our struggle for freedom. He was famous in the world for his uncompromising adherence to the path of truth. We were weak people of small stature and yet we grew in his shadow. We tried our best to follow the path shown by him and I am convinced that whatever success we had was entirely due to that.

There have been many ups and downs in the last few months and many good and bad things also happened. But this time I have come to Gwalior for a very auspicious and historic task. Therefore, I would like to congratulate the people of Gwalior as well as the people of the new Union of Gwalior,

1. Speech at a public meeting at Victoria College, Gwalior, 28 May 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi.)
2. Jiwaji Rao Scindia.
3. Nehru attended the A.I.S.P.C. session on 18 and 19 April 1947 at Gwalior. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 2, pp. 268-272.

Indore and Malwa. I congratulate the Maharaja and the people of this region and the architect of this merger. The developments in the princely States during the last few months have been truly historic. We tend to describe even minor events as historic. But these developments will be recorded in a special chapter in the history of India. India, which was divided nearly two hundred years ago into fragments, though these fragments were all under British rule, is becoming once again and the barriers which had separated the various parts are disappearing. The fragments are coming together once again and becoming familiar with each other.

We make laws and regulations and argue a lot over the choice of words regarding this new arrangement that is coming into being. But the important thing is the uplift of the people all over the country and in the princely States. People are all united in their desire to work together and build a new India. This has been happening for a long time. All the institutions of the people which have been established over the years, the Lok Parishads, the Praja Mandals, etc., have been a part of this picture and mirror the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Now this change is taking place and we are once again united in our purposes and goals. As you know, we are not out of the forest of difficulties yet. Innumerable problems crop up daily in the world, in India and in the princely States. But there is no doubt about it that in the matter of the princely States, we are marching firmly in the right direction. First, the country is becoming more closely knit and, secondly, the people now hold the reins of power. Therefore the decision regarding the kind of future that you wish to build is to be taken by all of you, the people of India. If we prove ourselves unworthy of this responsibility by betraying our weaknesses or allowing ourselves to be easily led astray and fight among ourselves, we will ruin our reputation as it has happened during the last 8-9 months. The communal riots made us ashamed before the world and weakened us.

All of us are assembled here today and it is proper that I should congratulate the people and the Maharaja Saheb. We have also to look ahead. Soon after going from here there will be a meeting in which the Maharaja Saheb will be sworn in as the Rajpramukh, and others will be sworn in as Uprajpramukh, Prime Minister, etc. But that apart, this is really the time when all of us should take a silent pledge about what we should do. The problems which shackle India today cannot be solved from above by a handful of men. We can succeed in the path that we have chosen only with the cooperation and help of the people. We cannot succeed otherwise. Therefore your holding meetings or shouting slogans is not enough. All of you must help in this task. There are heavy burdens upon us. You may place people in high positions and your representatives may form governments. But they cannot do anything without your help. You must not only help

your representatives but also make sure that there is no slackness and that the work is done on time.

As you know, there are many ways in which this can be done. According to one way the responsibility can be entrusted to one man or a handful of men. They may or may not put their powers to good use. But in a democracy where power is decentralized, responsibilities and burdens also get distributed among the people. Every citizen has a duty to discharge. Then comes the real test of the people, and unless they prove themselves worthy, things go wrong.

We see a new wave of energy and progress in the country. At the same time there is disunity, corruption and there are other evils too. People look to their own interests or the interests of their families and friends instead of putting the national interest first. Such tendencies reduce the country's stature. The question arises whether the people have the ability and spirit to rise above petty things and tackle the larger issues. Please remember that the smaller problems can be solved only when the larger issues are dealt with.

If India becomes a great and affluent country, all of us will grow in stature and become wealthy too. New avenues of work will also open up. If the country is weak and downtrodden all of us will be weakened. Our lives and interests cannot be separated from the national life and interests. This is something which everybody can understand. Yet people forget it and get bogged down in petty quarrels and harm the nation and themselves in the process.

India is a vast country. It is among the select few countries of the world which have the strength to do big things. The people of India are good, intelligent and capable of doing good work mentally and physically. The country is rich in minerals and other natural resources. The only thing which is needed is a spirit of selfless service and unity. This is what Mahatma Gandhi taught us. He gave us a great goal to strive for and so people forgot their petty quarrels and followed him. For the first time the world saw how a nation could win freedom by a unique method. Gandhiji completed the tasks that he undertook. Now the question is what you and I will do. The eyes of the world are upon us.

There are debates about the ideology that we should adopt. Whatever the people decide will be binding. But please remember that whether we adopt communism or something else, unless there is honesty, integrity, capacity for hard work and a spirit of cooperation, no 'ism' can work.

So it is absolutely essential that we should keep these larger goals before us, cooperate with one another and understand that every Indian, irrespective of caste or creed, has equal rights in the country. We have had a long history of disparities and suppression on the basis of castes, religious feuds, etc. You saw what happened recently. We must put an end to all that and

ensure that every Indian enjoys equal rights. Only then can we work together to make this country great.

As you know, Gwalior, Indore and Malwa are historic regions and whoever comes here his mind is filled with pictures of the olden days. When I came here I was reminded of Kalidasa and what he had written about these regions. Our minds hark back to thousands of years and we are reminded of the great men who were born on this soil and their great deeds and achievements. Then came a time when we became weak and fell because we got bogged down in our petty squabbles and forgot the larger issues. Do you remember why India lost her freedom? It was only because we fought among ourselves and did not cooperate with one another. So the invading hordes were able to conquer us easily. We have become free once again. But freedom is not something which can be bought once and locked up in a safe forever. Freedom is like a bird which, unless there is constant vigilance, will fly away. It has to be constantly protected and looked after, only then it stays. People must be prepared constantly to make sacrifices in the cause of peace. If all of us learn to cooperate and work for the larger national cause, and are prepared to make sacrifices, then the country will progress. Otherwise whatever we may say will remain superficial and yield no results. But I am convinced and I do hope that what we are doing, especially the auspicious task for which I have come here, will lay a firm foundation for the future. We will be able to build a new and prosperous India on that foundation. My heartiest congratulations to all of you, the people of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa and their erstwhile rulers! *Jai Hind*.

6. The Union of Madhya Bharat¹

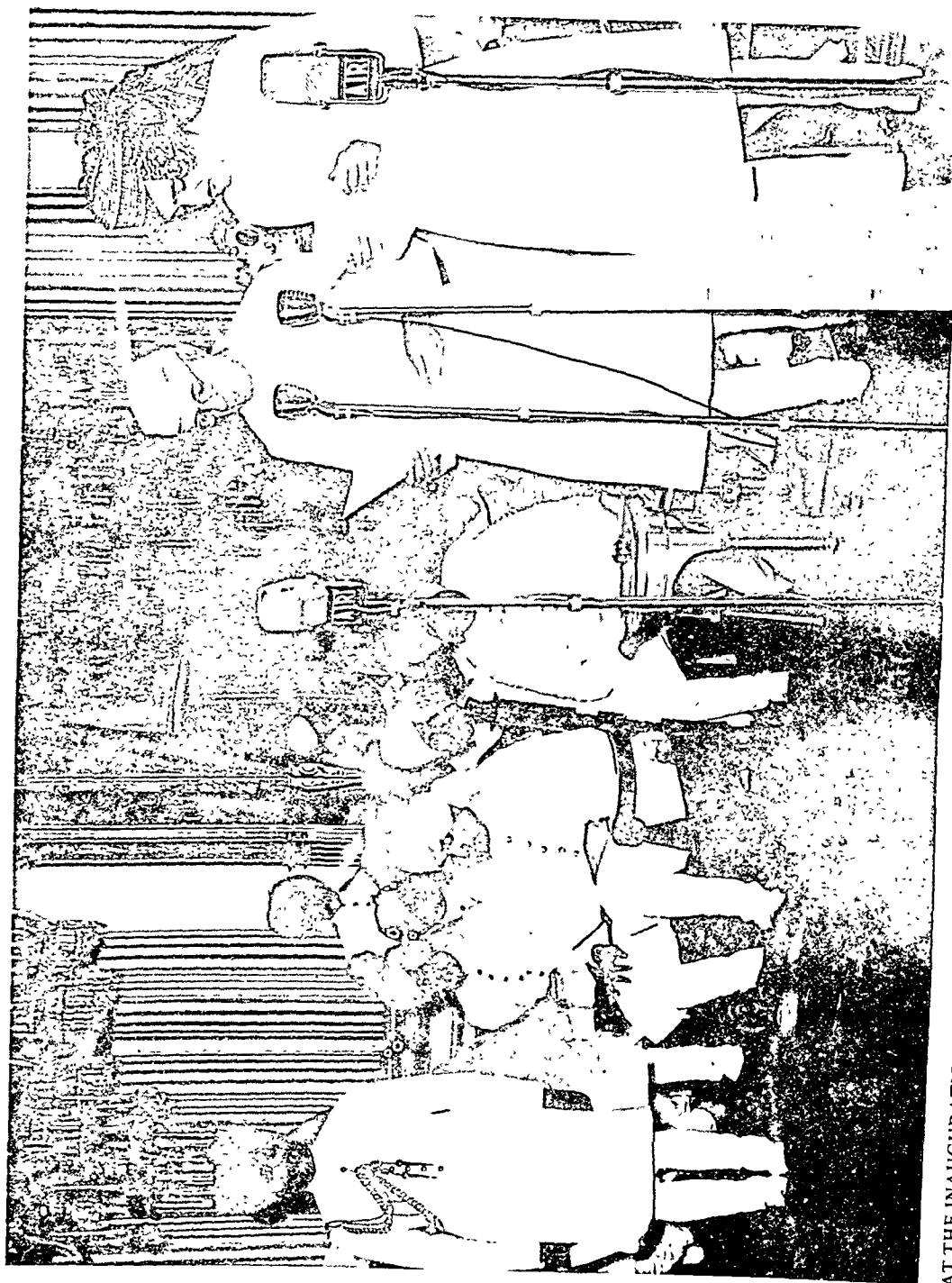
Respected Rajpramukhji, Uprajpramukhji, Prime Minister, Ministers and Gentlemen,

We have had a programme lasting nearly 40 minutes,² oaths were administered, pledges were taken and the Rajpramukh and the Prime Minister

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Union of Madhya Bharat, Gwalior, 28 May 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi.)
2. Twenty princely States formed the Union of Madhya Bharat. Jiwaji Rao Scindia of Gwalior was sworn in as Rajpramukh, Yashwant Rao Holkar of Indore as Uprajpramukh, and Anand Rao, the Maharaja of Dhar, and Yashodhar Singh, the Maharaja of Khilchipur, as junior Uprajpramukhs; Liladhar Joshi was the first Premier of the Union.



AT THE FORMATION OF RAJASTHAN UNION, UDAIPUR, 18 APRIL 1948



AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE UNIC

have said a few words to us. It is a small function but of great significance. In a sense this function opens a fresh page in our history and I feel that those who are present here just now will realize that they have participated in a historic event. When I came here many pictures of the history of our country came to my mind, then forgetting the present, to some extent, I began to look at the future—where are we going and how rapidly can we reach our destination? Oaths were taken by the Rajpramukh, Uprajpramukh, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, but in fact all of us who are present here also became associated with them. So to some extent it is our responsibility too. We have taken many pledges before this to fight for India's freedom and to serve our country. One goal has been achieved. We had to face a lot of problems in achieving it. But it is strange that such a big change, a revolutionary change, has taken place peacefully and with the cooperation of the people. This was due to the influence of the teachings of our great leader. We could not give our cooperation to him fully and perhaps if we had done so all our difficulties would have vanished. But even the little cooperation that we could extend to him yielded great results.

So what have we to do now? It is right that we should keep our ancient history in mind and draw strength from it. Our history, and especially the history of Madhya Bharat, is full of the great deeds of our ancestors with which we are connected directly. After all, we are their heirs. How can we be weak? We have to strive to be even better than they. At the same time we have to learn from our ancient history. What were our weaknesses in the past? What were the weaknesses which led to the country's downfall? So we have to look at both sides of the picture and try to learn from them and thus prepare ourselves for the future. We have to keep a picture of that future before us though it cannot be a very definite picture, nor should it be. That picture will be made up of thousands of things and will be drawn not by a single hand but millions of hands especially in today's democratic world. A single hand, however powerful it may be, cannot draw the picture of the future. So when it is being drawn by millions of hands naturally the picture will keep changing and though it may not be exactly as we want it to be still we can make it somewhat similar to it if we make an effort for it.

You are aware of the pictures which filled our minds and hearts during the last 25-30 years of the freedom struggle. We dreamt many dreams but all of them have not been realised. Many things happened which hurt our very souls and hurt India. Much still remains to be done and nobody knows how long it will take. But there was one aspect of the dream which concerned the princely States about which it can be said that it has been realised more rapidly than we had expected and that work is still going on. Much remains to be done in the States and in India because the story of a nation is unending. Those of us who are shouldering the responsibility today and doing some work will grow weak in course of time. Our limbs will become weak and

then others will take our place. The life of a country is endless. A country is immortal. People come, do some work, serve to the best of their ability and go away. Then others come and keep the torch burning.

Therefore, whatever picture we may keep before us it will keep changing and growing. When a thing stops growing, then comes its end—it dies. When a nation or a people lose their will to grow and become stagnant, then, even if they do not die, they come very close to death. If you read the history of India, you will find that whenever India had the will to grow and go ahead, she was very alive and vibrant in every way. We have heard something about the ancient history of Madhya Bharat in the Rajpramukh's speech. There have been great men here like Vikramaditya and Kalidasa. What were those times like? The people's minds were open then and they were prepared to try out new things. So their achievements were great and they forged ahead in every field whether it concerned military or literature or any other. They were a growing people, a growing nation, which left its imprint for thousands of years to come. The whole world felt this influence. Then came a time when, it seems, our country, the big and the small people, became somewhat stagnant in literature and everything else. If you want to look for India's greatness in literature, you have to go back to the ancient times. In the last few hundred years there have been writers but no one of any great importance as they were in the ancient times. Their inspiration seems to have dried up. Life became restricted, people were afraid of progress and we got so tightly bound up with our old shackles that we were unable to put our legs forward and march ahead. The result, inevitably, was that we became weak and were enslaved. If a nation gets tied down to anything, physically or mentally, it decays. No nation can remain static in this world. It either goes forward or slides back. If any country hopes to stay in one position, it will slide back, events will push it backward because the world always moves ahead for good or bad.

Now the time for change has come. How should we face it? If we think that with independence our task is over, we will once again be caught up in our old chains. We have to look ahead, towards progress, and at the same time try to understand the good points of our ancient civilization which have enriched the world. Only by combining the old and the new can we find the right path. There is no other course open to us. I am aware that diverse forces and different ways of thinking are pulling the country in different directions. Some of them are good, some bad. Bad forces sometimes come in such a way and in such garb that they create disillusionment. Some of them are disguised in the garb of India's ancient heritage. But if you look carefully, you will discover that they lay stress on those aspects of our ancient civilization which have pulled us down in the past, and not on those aspects which made us strong and can make us a great nation even today. So we have to consider where

we are at present and what is our position because we are passing through a critical period. We have been swimming now for a long time in a very stormy sea with only occasional periods of relief. Again and again we have been washed away. Those of us who had strong arms forged ahead. But we have to understand that the stormy sea has not calmed down yet. We do not know when there will be peace and the storm will cease. Anyhow, there is no reason for us to panic because we have faced great upheavals and overcome them. Any other upheaval cannot be worse than those and as our country got victory over those upheavals, I have no doubt in my mind that we can face any storm in the future too. I am aware that it is easy to say this but we can achieve this only when we understand it properly and are fully prepared mentally for the task that lies ahead.

I realise that with the attainment of independence our vision got somewhat blurred. We got entangled in trivialities and meaningless quarrels. This is the greatest danger that faces us. Please remember that no external enemy can harm us. There is a great deal of strength in us if only we can recognize that strength, and we can face the enemy unitedly. Our greatest enemy is the evil in our hearts and consequently it is most difficult to combat that because it is not easily recognizable and it destroys us from within and weakens us, with the result that when a critical situation arises we find ourselves unable to cope with it. At this juncture we in India have to face this enemy which is within ourselves, which weakens us, leads us into wrong ways, creates hatred and a desire to fight and divides us. This is what ruined India in the past, and to the extent that we followed Mahatma Gandhi's advice, we succeeded in overcoming this weakness. We faced a mighty empire successfully and now if we give in to the same weakness, we will become weak again and fall. A great deal of talk is going on about external threats; people are scared, they exhort us to be prepared to protect and defend the country. That is all right. But I would like to tell you that our greatest enemy is within us, not outside. I am not worried about any external threats so long as we do our duty, do not get carried away by trivialities and petty quarrels, and follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi to the best of our ability.

So it is the first thing I would like to put before you because all of us—please do not think I am saying anything against you—including myself, are small people if we are measured by the yardstick of Mahatma Gandhi. In his lifetime some of his shadow was cast over us and we too became great to some extent. We did great things with the little strength that was in us and achieved results. Now this is a new test to see how successfully we can carry the new burden upon our shoulder and how far we can fulfil the great, big promises we make. We often talk about the people and say that we will serve them. But nothing is achieved by merely shouting slogans and indulging in tall talks. We must work hard and show our people and the world what

we can do. Though there are many people in the country today who can shoulder these burdens successfully, yet if we do not have the will to work then our country will not make progress.

A nation does not progress by its constitution alone nor can it uphold its freedom by granting liberties on paper. It can preserve its freedom only by being strong, by physical and mental strength and, above all, by following the right path. I am not particularly a religious man, but I firmly believe that if a race or a nation or an individual follows a wrong path he will have to bear the consequences. He cannot escape them—there may be delay but the consequences will have to be borne. He has to face them. Whether you call it science or philosophy, all of them teach the same lesson. But people do wrong things in a moment of weakness and in the hope of some immediate gain. There may be some immediate gain but ultimately it leads to great harm. They regret it later but then there is no way out and they only get deeper into it. One individual does something wrong, another retaliates by doing the same thing. It happens so with nations also and so the vicious circle goes on. So if we really want that our country should be a great country in the world and not a third-rate one, we have to do big things so that our head is held high forever. Those who crawl on their knees can neither go far nor be great. This is the lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi. It is not always easy to take a decision about what is right and what is wrong. Difficult problems confront us and those who have to shoulder the responsibility find it difficult to take a correct decision always. But if we are honest and do our work with integrity, guided by the principles I have told you about, then even if we take a wrong step, it can easily be rectified. But if a right step is taken with wrong motives and by following wrong methods, then we will also do wrong and lose our way. All of us have to remember these basic things.

The barriers which were there between the princely States and the Indian provinces in the time of British rule have now been removed, and it is right also because now there is no logic in the existence of States. We cannot exist in isolation, so it is a good thing to establish a close relationship and to march together. I have always felt that on the one hand there should be a close relationship, but, on the other, too much centralization is not good. The more freedom the States have, the better their growth and development will be. They will learn to stand on their own feet and thus increase the strength of the entire country. I would say that even in the sphere of culture and fine arts, it is not good to force the same thing down everybody's throat. Everybody should be given an opportunity to grow freely. Thus there can be unity as well as diversity in the country and both these things lead the country to progress.

I would like to tell you one more thing about which I have already hinted. As you know, I have had a long association with the Praja Mandals and had the

high honour of being the President of the All India States People's Conference for a number of years. I have always been interested in the problems of these States and I am glad that they are gradually being solved. But in the process new problems may arise. In a sense the goal of the All India States People's Conference has been more or less achieved in our own lifetime. Therefore, in a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the States People's Conference it was decided that it was no longer necessary for that organization to continue to function and that the Indian National Congress in its new form which it had taken could function in these States also. So this organization, the States People's Conference, has completed its task. Your task and mine is not yet over but, in a sense, the task of this organization is over. Therefore, officially it may wind up any time. It has more or less stopped working because it is not proper for it to work any more. But the local Praja Mandals which were associated with it will have to establish some sort of relationship with the Congress. To function on democratic principles we need some sort of organization of the people behind us. But its method of functioning will change completely. I can tell you it is a difficult thing. My life has been spent in fighting the British and criticizing all their actions which I thought were wrong. Similarly millions of Congressmen have spent their lives doing this. But now after independence that way of working has become useless. That does not mean that whatever the Centre or the Government in the States may do, they should not be criticized at all. If they do wrong, they should certainly be criticized. But there should be a difference in our behaviour towards our own Government and a foreign one. You cannot change a foreign government. Sometimes people have to revolt against it. But in a democracy people have the right to change a government, if they so like. I know it is not easy for the people to change the habits of a lifetime. The people who fought against the British cannot easily understand any other way of functioning, though they try very hard. They get confused, frustrated and sometimes tend to do wrong. What is happening everywhere may happen here too. So I want to warn you that the old ways are no longer right. You have founded a good organization with mutual cooperation and you should continue to work in mutual cooperation. There may be a thousand tensions and you may make mistakes and it is true you have to deal with them, fight against wrong-doing, etc. But there are different ways of fighting. The old ways are no longer right because all of you in the Praja Mandals—members and workers—as well as the people are now responsible for the burdens that have to be borne. They are not in opposition. The method of fighting against everything is no longer right. If you want to criticise something it should be done as a friend or a colleague. This is a basic thing which I would like you, as the representatives of the people, to tell the people and especially the Praja Mandals as to how they should function because success lies in that. All of us, the States Ministry and

myself, will help you in the difficulties which are bound to arise. There is no easy way of solving all the problems all at once. You will stumble and fall many times but you will have to go on because there is no other way and moreover we should not get agitated easily. Even when difficulties arise, we should think clearly and try to find a way out. I will give you my own example. In the past many things happened in India which agitated me. They broke my heart and I had no desire to take on this burden of Prime Minister-ship. But there was no other way. This is not something handed over to me by the British that I can give it up and sit at home. If the people who have chosen me, the people of the Congress or the Congress Working Committee, give even the slightest hint that they do not want me, I will gladly give it up. But even then I cannot run away. I will still work for the country in a non-official capacity because even if I am agitated where shall I go to? It is not as though I can give in my resignation to Lord Mountbatten. In fact no one can dissociate himself from these responsibilities unless those who gave him the authority do not like him any more. So nothing can be achieved by being panicky or feeling frustrated. Whatever happens we have to move with the firm intention of not panicking in the face of great odds but of trying to solve problems by mutual cooperation and help.

I have taken up a great deal of your time in telling you about some of the things which are in my mind. You may also consider them because we all are engaged in great tasks. Remember that we are in the same boat. Whether you are rowing the boat of Madhya Bharat or we are rowing the boat of Delhi or any other boat, actually they are all one boat. If it moves fast, all of us will progress, and if it sinks, all of us will sink with it.

Once again on this auspicious occasion I give congratulations to Rajpramukhji, Uprajpramukhji, the princes, the Prime Minister and Ministers and the people. *Jai Hind*.

7. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
5th June 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

Please refer to your demi-official letter No. 731-PAP of the 18th May regarding the creation of Himachal Pradesh. We quite appreciate all that you say about the advantages of consolidating East Punjab and the States contiguous to it into a strong and resourceful unit, but in the case of the Punjab Hill States

1. J.N. Collection.

there were certain special circumstances which made it difficult to merge them into the Province of East Punjab.

The people of the Punjab Hill States are undoubtedly distinct from the people of the plains in culture and language and there was a genuine apprehension among them that absorption into East Punjab would lay them open to exploitation by the more enterprising people from the plains. They therefore desired to be administered as a separate political unit at least for the time being, and since the Rulers of the States and their people were united in this matter the Government of India could not but give great weight to their request. I am sure you appreciate that in the circumstances a forced merger of these areas with East Punjab would not have produced happy results.

As regards the Union of Patiala and East Punjab States,² the position was similar in essence. The Rulers as well as the people of the smaller East Punjab States were desirous of separate existence in a Union. When Patiala, which by itself had been recognised as a viable unit, expressed its willingness to join the Union, it was no longer possible to raise any objection on the part of the Government of India to the creation of the Union.

The fact that three units have come into existence in the geographical area of East Punjab does not mean that there should not be close cooperation between them in economic and other matters. The Government of India are, on the other hand, convinced that such cooperation is both possible and essential and they are resolved to do all they can to bring this about.

Lastly you have referred to the position of Bilaspur in relation to East Punjab. Though the Raja of Bilaspur has not signed an agreement, it is our intention to keep the State as a separate unit under the administration of the Government of India and there should be no difficulty about reaching a suitable agreement with the East Punjab Government about the administration of the Bhakra Dam Project.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 5 May, eight Sikh princely States in East Punjab formed the Phulkari union (P.E.P.S.U.) with the Maharaja of Patiala as Rajpramukh and the Maharaja of Kapurthala as Uprajpramukh. Other States were Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Nalagarh and Kalsia.

1. At the United Nations

1. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Please see your recent telegrams ending with your No. 244-S dated 9th April. I agree with the line that you are taking.

2. It is not clear to me what action Security Council will take. The only indication so far is the one referred to in your telegram No. 234-S dated 7th April, namely that latest version of Chinese resolution² may be adopted without substantial modification. In the event of this revised resolution³ being moved, you will naturally express objections⁴ to it on lines we have already discussed. Should the Security Council nevertheless pass the resolution in a form not acceptable to us, I suggest you should say that the Government of India will have to consider how they should deal with it.

3. Unless something quite unexpected happens, I think it would be a waste of time for the delegation to continue to remain in New York and I suggest that you should return after the 16th. At the appropriate time you will doubtless inform the Security Council accordingly, adding if necessary

1. New Delhi, 10 April 1948. M.E.A. files.
2. On 18 March 1948, the Chinese representative, T.F. Tsiang, introduced a draft resolution providing that Pakistan should secure the withdrawal of invaders in Kashmir, and after this had taken place, India should start a progressive withdrawal of her troops, leaving enough for defence and security. India should further set up a plebiscite administration, with international personalities as the top officers. In the meantime, India ought to try to ensure participation of all major political groups in the interim government.
3. Six delegations, including those of the United States and Britain, presented a draft resolution which was a combination of various proposals made earlier. This resolution envisaged a five-man commission which would place its good offices at the disposal of India and Pakistan for the restoration of peace and holding a plebiscite. Pakistan was required to stop incursions of tribesmen into Kashmir, and to secure their withdrawal from the State. India was allowed to maintain a minimum armed force in Kashmir and was asked to form a coalition cabinet comprising all major political parties in the State. The Kashmir Government was to appoint a plebiscite administrator only nominally, actually he was to be named by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The plebiscite administrator was given full powers to establish contact with the United Nations Commission. The Commission was to report to the Security Council whether the plebiscite was free and impartial. If the local forces were found inadequate, the plebiscite administrator was authorized to arrange for additional forces from either Dominion.
4. Gopalaswami Ayyangar had stated on 18 March 1948 that before the plebiscite would be considered, the fact that the raiders had received aid from Pakistan had to be recognised and an undertaking had to be obtained from the Government of Pakistan that it would do its utmost to prevent such assistance. The Government of India was prepared to consider the Chinese draft resolution on its merits though it meant further concessions by India.

that you will be leaving a representative behind to continue to deal with the matter. I would like you to consider whether Vellodi should be left behind for this purpose. It does not seem to be necessary for Buch⁵ to stay back to deal with the Junagadh issue and he should return with you.

4. I have asked Bajpai to handle the Palestine issue⁶ in the General Assembly for so long as he has to stay in New York in connection with the Kashmir issue. I am inclined to think that it would be desirable for him to stay on for a few days after your return but I would like him to telegraph to me his views about this in consultation with you.

5. N.M. Buch, Regional Commissioner for Western India and Gujarat States and Joint Secretary in the States Ministry.
6. The U.N. Security Council's debate for 37 days on enforcing partition of Palestine ended on 1 April 1948 with the passage of the U.S. resolutions for a truce in Palestine and a special meeting of General Assembly starting on 16 April to reconsider the problem. However, the truce appeal clashed with the Jews' determination to set up their own state and the Arabs' stand against any such development.

2. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

I have received your telegrams Nos. 261-S and 262-S dated April 14th. We have discussed so often and so thoroughly the various points arising from the draft resolution that it seems scarcely necessary for me to make any comment in detail. The revised resolution is completely unacceptable and you will have to take, as I am sure you will, a very strong attitude in the Security Council. The deletion of Clause (3)² of Preamble to the resolution dated March 30th read with para 5³ makes it clear that the whole

1. New Delhi, 16 April 1948. M.E.A. files.
2. The dropping of this clause of the Chinese draft's preamble indicated that the revised resolution paid no attention to the main complaint India had lodged with the U.N. There was no mention of the accession of Kashmir to India, nor was Pakistan considered as an aggressor.
3. Para 5 read: "If these local forces should be found to be inadequate, the Commission, subject to the agreement of both the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, should arrange for the use of such forces of either Dominion as it deems effective for the purpose of pacification."

approach of the sponsors is wrong. They have completely ignored our complaint against Pakistan and Pakistan's complicity in Kashmir operations.

2. The line that we would like you to take in your speech to the Security Council is that you are prepared to accept the original Chinese resolution substantially but are not prepared to accept the modifications suggested thereto. While you should state the objections to the modifications vigorously we do not want you to get involved in tabling further amendments which might make the resolution acceptable to you.

3. We leave it to your discretion to decide when you should come back, but we would like you to know that we are not interested in your staying longer in New York. If there is likely to be any long adjournment you may leave Vellodi there and come back whenever you feel like it.

4. Defence Ministry have telegraphed to you some information about conditions in Rajauri which our troops occupied the other day.⁴ The raiders indulged in large-scale massacre of civilian population and abduction of women and wholesale destruction of property. In fact their behaviour in Rajauri, before they were compelled to evacuate it, was even worse than the behaviour of raiders in Baramulla. You may point out to the Security Council that you find it difficult to understand how to deal with such creatures on any known levels.

4. On 12 April 1948, Rajauri, which was captured by the raiders in November 1947, was recaptured. This operation saved the lives of 1500 refugees. Of these 300 to 500 had been lined up to be shot when the Indian column arrived. In fact the raiders had left the town looted and burnt and had pillaged the population.

3. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
17 April 1948

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You know that we have been proceeding on the basis of the Chinese draft resolution on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council. In spite of some objections that we had, we accepted this as a whole. Since then repeated

1. File No. K.S.-14/47, M.H.A.

attempts have been made to change its fundamental character. We have resisted this. Our High Commissioner in London has seen Mr. Attlee and other Ministers in London on this subject and he has been assured on several occasions that they would stand by the original Chinese resolution and would not permit any material change.

We now find that the proposal put forward on behalf of the U.K., U.S.A., Canada and other countries is something entirely different from the original Chinese resolution and it rejects nearly every contention that we have put forward. The only course open to us is to oppose this completely. I was very much surprised that such a resolution should have the backing of the U.K. representative after Mr. Attlee's clear assurance to us.

Today I have received a message from Mr. Attlee asking me to agree to this new resolution. I can only say that I am amazed at this request being made to me at this stage after all that has happened and the assurances that have been given to us. Quite apart from any differences of opinion, one has an uncomfortable feeling that an attempt has been made to lull us into a feeling of security when developments were taking place which were considered by us to be entirely objectionable.

A copy of Mr. Attlee's message to me is being sent to you separately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Note to H. V. R. Iengar¹

I attach a letter received from the Governor-General about the latest resolution on Kashmir before the Security Council.

2. Lord Mountbatten spoke to me on this subject tonight and said that he had carefully compared the original Chinese resolution with this latest resolution. It seemed to him that in the balance the changes made were rather to our advantage and he was somewhat surprised to find that we disapproved of them so strongly. He was not quite sure if he had seen the right drafts. He said he wanted to discuss this matter with me and he hoped to convince me that the position was not so bad as we had thought.

1. New Delhi, 18 April 1948. J.N. Collection.

3. I do not know what papers were sent to Lord Mountbatten and whether he had the right ones. Anyway, I should like copies of the original Chinese resolution and the latest draft resolution. You have studied this matter carefully and you can easily indicate the principal changes made to our disadvantage.

5. Minutes of a Meeting Convened by Lord Mountbatten¹

Mountbatten showed the Prime Minister a statement he had prepared showing in two columns the original Chinese resolution on Kashmir and the present amended resolution,² together with comments explaining the difference between the two resolutions.

Nehru said that, subject to a discussion on certain points, he had been prepared to accept the original Chinese resolution. He was not, however, prepared to accept the present resolution, which he considered had been altered in three or four fundamental respects, which were quite unacceptable to India.

Firstly, Nehru said that the whole general approach to the problem was once again wrong in that Pakistan was being placed on an equal footing with India in the resolution.

Secondly, Nehru said that he was not happy about the new wording of the Preamble, and particularly the instructions to the Commission, in which they were instructed to place their good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan with a view to facilitating the taking of the necessary measures by the two Governments, both with regard to the restoration of peace and order, and to the holding of the plebiscite. He appreciated that the instructions in this Clause applied to the Commission only, but he said that he was sure that there was a loophole here for Pakistan to interpret it as allowing them to interfere with India's actions, both in

1. New Delhi, 19 April 1948. Lord Mountbatten Papers, Broadlands Archives Trust, Broadlands, Romsey, Hampshire. Those present were Mountbatten, Nehru and R.V. Brockman. Extracts.

2. The amended resolution which was passed on 21 April 1948 required India to withdraw her armed forces after the withdrawal of Pakistan raiders was established. The remaining troops were not to intimidate the people and the reserve troops were to remain at the base. The plebiscite administrator appointed by the U.N. could direct the peace-keeping authorities to conduct a plebiscite, the fairness of which would be certified by U.N. observers.

regard to the restoration of peace and order and to the holding of the plebiscite.

Thirdly, Nehru said that India had always insisted that it would be essential to retain troops in the State for the purpose of defence, and drew attention to paragraph 2 (a)³ of the original Chinese resolution, which clearly covered this point. He said that he could find no reference to defence in the latest resolution, and only references to law and order.

Mountbatten drew the Prime Minister's attention to paragraph 2 (c) (i), (ii) and (iii),⁴ and particularly to the fact that after the Indian troops had been reduced to the minimum strength required for law and order, the stationing of the remaining forces (i.e., in his opinion, those required for defence) should be carried out in accordance with certain principles, i.e., as small a number as possible should be retained in the forward areas, and that the reserve troops should be located in their present base areas. The Prime Minister did not entirely subscribe to this reading of paragraph 2, and said that he thought it ought to be cleared up.

Fourthly, Nehru said that he did not like the new paragraph 5,⁵ in that there was a loophole here which, in certain circumstances, allowed Pakistan troops to be used in the State. The Governor-General pointed out that the agreement of the Government of India would be required for such a step, but the Prime Minister said that equally the agreement of the Government of Pakistan would be required for the entry of any Indian troops into the State, even though he agreed that this paragraph referred only to the maintenance of law and order. He added that it was very unsatisfactory for the Government of Pakistan to be placed in this paragraph on an equality with the Government of India, but as each Government could, in these circumstances, cancel the other out, he could not personally see the value of the paragraph being included.

Fifthly, Nehru said that he took very grave exception to the wording of paragraph 6⁶ of the resolution, which was quite unacceptable to India. He said that he realised that the number of representatives from the major political groups to be invited to join the Government would be decided by India, and that these representatives would only join the Kashmir Government while the plebiscite was being prepared and carried out. These were

3. Paragraph 2(a) of the Chinese draft resolution required India to withdraw all its troops except those required for "defence and security".
4. Paragraph 2 c (i), (ii) and (iii) stipulated that the smallest number of Indian troops must be stationed in forward areas, that they must not intimidate the inhabitants, and that any reserves of troops should be located in the base area.
5. Paragraph 5 stipulated that subject to agreement by both Governments, the Commission could ask either of them for additional forces for the "purpose of pacification."
6. Paragraph 6 asked the Indian Government to ensure that the Interim Government of Jammu and Kashmir was composed of all major political groups in the State.

satisfactory provisions, but it was quite impossible to accept that the major political groups in Kashmir should themselves designate the representatives who should join the Government. He said that Sheikh Abdullah would be placed in an impossible position in such circumstances, and he was sure that public opinion in India would not accept that the 'Azad Kashmir' government and the Muslim National Conference, both of whom had been responsible for barbarous happenings in the State, should be allowed to nominate their own representatives to the State Government where they could cause untold trouble.

Nehru said that continued pressure had been brought on India to abandon Sheikh Abdullah and remove him from his position as head of the Government. They had always resisted this and would continue to do so but he regarded the proposals in paragraphs 8, 9 and 10,⁷ about the control of the State forces and the police and the appointments of special magistrates within the State judicial system, as likely to accomplish the same and by undermining the power and authority of the Government entirely. Mountbatten said that he could not see how such proposals would prevent fair and impartial plebiscite being held, and he added that without some safeguards of this nature he was convinced that world opinion would not accept any plebiscite held under Abdullah's aegis as being impartial.

In regard to the appointment of special magistrates, Nehru said that he regarded them as unnecessary. The functions visualised for them would be executive rather than judicial, and he thought it would be sufficient for official observers to report any happenings of the type visualised direct to the Commission, who would give decisions.

Nehru re-emphasised that he was extremely disgusted with everything that had happened at Lake Success, and that he did not intend to reply to Mr. Attlee or to send any further instructions to Gopalaswami. Mountbatten said that he thought that we ought not to be so uncompromising, and that Private Secretary to Governor-General should record the discussion in the form of a telegram to Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, which he should discuss immediately with Mr. H.V.R. Iengar and Mr. K.P.S. Menon.

7. According to paragraphs 8, 9 and 10, the Plebiscite Administrator could take over the State forces and the police and ask for further reinforcements to ensure a fair plebiscite.

6. Cable to N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

Your telegram No. 275-S April 20th. Your speech² before the Security Council has been published in full here, also Zafrullah's resolution.³

I have received long reports from Krishna Menon of interview with Attlee at Attlee's request. Attlee strongly contended that new resolution before the Security Council met India's principal points and in no way affected our fundamental position. He earnestly asked us to accept the resolution and cast burden on Pakistan to reject it.

We have already telegraphed to you our advice and you have acted in accordance with it. If occasion arises it may be sound tactics to cast burden of rejection on Pakistan without committing ourselves too much.⁴

Question arises as to our attitude regarding appointment of Commission. It would be better if Commission is not appointed in terms of resolution but if it is appointed should we suggest any further names? Czechoslovakia should in any event remain.⁵ Among other countries only possibilities appear to be Australia and perhaps Mexico. What tactical attitude should be adopted should be determined by you and your colleagues. There is this one point which is worth consideration and that is that Pakistan have to take first step to withdraw hostiles. Until then we have full liberty of military action. If without committing ourselves we leave it to Pakistan to take this step or reject it, it might be advantageous.

1. New Delhi, 21 April 1948. M.E.A. files.

2. Gopalaswami Ayyangar objected that the amended resolution did not condemn Pakistan's aggression and tended to make her "look like" the "co-accused". It was niggardly in spelling out Pakistan's obligations and did not recognise Kashmir's accession to India and India's obligation to defend the State against external aggression. A coalition government in the State would paralyse the administration. The resolution conferred wide powers on the Plebiscite Administrator, some of them being quite strange, for example, the right to deal directly with Pakistan.

3. Zafrullah Khan expressed Pakistan's complete disagreement with the amended resolution.

4. Despite India's objections, on 21 April the resolution was carried by nine votes against none with the Soviet and Ukrainian delegations abstaining.

5. Besides Korbel, representing Czechoslovakia, and nominated by India, the remaining members of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan came from the U.S.A., Belgium, Colombia and Argentina (chosen by Pakistan), which were all members of the Security Council.

7. The Basis of India's Policies¹

There is a general complaint that India has been isolated in the world's political manipulations.

But India's policy in the international sphere is one of strict neutrality. We want to be friendly with every country and follow our own line of policy on every question that might arise, remaining neutral on those not affecting us directly.

The world today is split into two power blocs. There is already some talk of war. But it is my firm belief that there will be no third world war in the near future. We shall take care not to align ourselves with one group or the other for temporary gains.

What has been the result of the last two World Wars? They have left behind them more problems. They have definitely led to more complications. This clearly shows that the old way of dealing with world problems through violence is not the path of peace.

What is the duty of India in such a situation? While India cannot obviously join either of the two groups, our efforts must be directed towards bringing about an understanding between Soviet Russia and the United States of America.

I have been receiving a large number of telegrams daily suggesting that India should do something to stop the rot. India is quite prepared to do her bit to bring about a compromise. I am quite prepared to go anywhere, if I am convinced that my going will help in producing the desired results.

However, the situation in India requires my immediate and personal attention. I am, therefore, unable at the moment to leave the country. In the past we had a great leader whose advice we often spurned when he was living. But we are all convinced that the world's sickness today can be cured only by his methods of love and nonviolence.

We may have made many mistakes in the past and ourselves realised them later, but as far as the question of Kashmir is concerned from first to last, I feel convinced, we made no mistake whatever.

We went to the United Nations on the question of Kashmir with a simple and straight issue. During the last four and a half months that the Kashmir issue has been before the Security Council of the United Nations, the Council discussed all points except the real point at issue. It was as clear as daylight to anyone who wished to see that the tribesmen who raided Kashmir could

1. Speech at the A.I.C.C. meeting, Bombay, 24 April 1948. From *The Hindu*, 25 April 1948.

never have reached Kashmir territory without the connivance of the Pakistan authorities. This straight issue has been consistently baulked by the Security Council though we have repeatedly asserted inside and outside the Security Council that the raiders had the connivance and support of the Pakistan Government.

Comments in the Security Council by representatives of certain countries have been most deplorable and painful.² Why these friendly countries should oppose us on such a clear issue, I am unable to understand. The only obvious conclusion is that our freedom has not in the least changed the attitude of these countries towards us.

The Kashmir problem is not a Hindu-Muslim problem for the reason that the majority of the population in Kashmir is Muslim and they are bitterly opposed to the invaders. In fact, they are all followers of Sheikh Abdullah and have endorsed the Maharaja's decision to accede to India.

The position in Kashmir is thus quite clear. Not only has the Maharaja decided to accede to India, but the National Conference has fully supported this decision. In spite of these facts, the Government of India has always indicated its readiness to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir as soon as conditions in the Valley render it possible for the people to decide freely whether they want to join India or Pakistan or remain independent. Some foreign countries hold the view that if a state has Muslims as its majority, then it should automatically join Pakistan. This is a mistaken notion which has no relation to the facts and the situation. We resent the attitude of those countries who think that all Muslims are Pakistanis and always make a distinction between Hindu India and Muslim India.

The Security Council has passed a resolution on 21st April. It is impossible for us to accept this. I cannot understand the attitude of the Security Council. The Council's verdict is totally wrong and irrelevant. Our representative, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, rightly rejected it and we whole-heartedly endorsed his stand. We will decide about the Government's future course of action when the delegation returns. As long as Kashmir continues to remain part of India, it is our duty to safeguard and protect Kashmir and fight anyone who threatens its integrity. The Indian Army will go all out to drive away the raiders from Kashmir.

2. The U.S. delegate, Warren Austin, said that the Indian delegation's attempt to get the Security Council to take firm measures against Pakistan would amount to taking up the position of an ally in a war. India and Sheikh Abdullah were trying to get the Council to "pull off Pakistan and allow India to finish the job by force against the tribesmen". The Argentine delegate, Jose Arce, said that Kashmir was not a territory of India, that the cause of trouble was the rebellion of the people of Kashmir against their ruler, and that the Security Council could not work as a tool for the applicants who came before it.

Regarding Hyderabad, as far as I can see, by compulsion of events both geographical and economic, Hyderabad must have the closest possible relation with India, or else there will be conflict. War is a prolonged affair, and if we resort to it, many new problems will arise. We have, therefore, been trying to solve this problem by negotiations, but that does not mean that we are afraid of following the path of war.

The Government of India wishes to apply the same principle to Hyderabad as in the case of Kashmir, Junagadh and other States, namely that the wish of the people of the State should ultimately prevail. With this end in view, we persuaded most of the Indian States to grant responsible government to the people, and Hyderabad is the only State where this has not been done so far.

It is impossible for a feudal system of government to continue in Hyderabad and full responsible government must be established in that State as a matter of principle. The Government of India has before it similar questions of the Portuguese and French settlements also and these will also be taken up in course of time.

The leaders of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and the Razakars have been making utterances which, even leaving aside the speech which was denied, can be regarded as a hostile or unfriendly act against the neighbouring government, namely, the Government of India.

The main question that arises from the provocative utterances of the Razakars' leader is, who is the ruling authority in Hyderabad State now? Is it the Nizam or the Razakars? Either the Nizam's Government approve of what the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen leader says or they do not. If they do, then they must make that clear. If they do not, they must take action to prevent the Ittehad leader from indulging in such irresponsible utterances. The fact that the State Government have not taken action against him raises another question, namely, whether they are powerless to curb him and his followers; in other words, whether the Nizam's Government exist in the true sense of the word, or whether there is some other government in the State operating behind the purdah.

A number of incidents have taken place on the borders of the State. The Central Government and the Provincial Governments of Madras and Bombay are seized of the situation. If, in spite of the indications, the Nizam's Government continue to connive at the exploits of the Razakars, their connivance is liable to be regarded by the Indian Government as a hostile act. The fact that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments are not vocal about the border incidents must not be construed as impassivity. As a Government, we have to be careful about what we say. Any suggestions from the members of the A.I.C.C. will be most welcome, but, despite the urgent nature of the problem, it will be wrong to advise the Government to draw the sword and march into Hyderabad.

8. No Reasonable Chance of Agreement¹

The Kashmir problem can be resolved only by two ways, either by warfare which India was carrying on, or by other methods of settlement. We have tried both. We are carrying on that war and we propose to carry on that war as effectively, efficiently and rapidly as possible till we drive out the last raider from the Kashmir territory, and when peace and order are established other steps will follow.

A complex situation has arisen in the State. I cannot prophesy what the reaction of the Security Council will be to what India might say and what other steps might be necessary, but whatever is going to be done is not going to be pursued half-heartedly.

We are always prepared to negotiate with Pakistan when there is a reasonable chance of agreement but just at the present moment there is no such chance.

Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar has already stated our position regarding the resolution passed by the Security Council. Some parts of the resolution are not acceptable to us. We just cannot give effect to them because they go counter to our undertakings to the people of Kashmir, their Government and to the world, and are completely contrary to the policies that we have been following. Therefore, it is not possible to give effect to those parts of the resolution, more especially those relating to the internal composition of the Kashmir Government, and to the question whether our forces should be there and to the possibility of outside forces, like those of Pakistan, coming into Kashmir. We are awaiting the return of the other members of the delegation, including Mr. Bajpai, and then we will consider the matter fully; but there will be no departure from whatever basic policy the Government has laid down.

However, there is no question of India withdrawing from the world organisation despite what has happened in the Security Council.

Question: How does the Government reconcile Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar's statement that India would not accept the decision of the Security Council with the nomination by her of a representative of Czechoslovakia to the U.N.O. Commission?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was three months ago that the question of nominating a member on the Commission came up and we were asked to nominate a member. It was then that the name of Czechoslovakia was mentioned.

1. Press conference at New Delhi, 1 May 1948. From *National Herald*, 3 May 1948.

It was long before the changes in Czechoslovakia had taken place. Since we first made the nomination nothing has happened and it is taking effect now.

What the Commission is going to do or not is a different matter. India has nominated a representative and she cannot withdraw it now. It is difficult for me to say as to what Pakistan will do. The resolution is a complicated one. As a matter of fact, the first step in the resolution will have to be taken by Pakistan. Pakistan might indicate the steps they will take or will not take. A theoretical acceptance of the resolution and practical implementation of it are two different things. Outright rejection of the resolution will have one effect but modified rejection is another thing.

Q.: Will India accept the resolution in parts?

JN: Our approach to the matter is different from that of the Security Council. One of India's grievances has been that the whole origin and nature of the problem has not been considered.

There is a lot of talk about plebiscite but the point remains that the question of a plebiscite has been raised unilaterally by India and nobody else. The question was not about a plebiscite but the conditions for it.

At the time when India took the Kashmir issue to the Security Council there was the danger of military operations spreading and possibly involving India in a military conflict with Pakistan. We wanted to avoid that. We, however, felt that in the course of the military operations we would have had to hit at the bases of operations which were in Pakistan across the border. In a military sense India would have had to do it, but for political and for other obvious reasons, we did not want to do that and, in order to avoid that, we went to the Security Council, as also to prevent Pakistan territory from being used as the base of operations. Unfortunately, however, even today Pakistan territory is being used as the base of operations. It is absolutely true that not only small arms, but things like ack-ack guns which, obviously, tribal people do not possess, howitzers and mountain batteries of Pakistan are being used against our aircraft, presumably by people trained by the Pakistan army. The fact that Pakistan is supporting the Kashmir raiders is more established today than ever before, and we have an abundance of proof. But it is our desire not to get embroiled with Pakistan on this or any other issue.

India shall continue her activities in Kashmir territories and as far as possible India shall avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory.

India has not recognised the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' government. The report spread by the 'Azad Kashmir' government, and published in Pakistan, and further given currency by some of the Pakistan ministers, about the alleged blinding of men by the Indian Army at Rajauri is a hundred per cent falsehood. In this connection I may draw your attention to the reports published

by the correspondents who visited the area soon after it was liberated. Just the Indian troops arrived, there had been a general massacre of civilian before population and the whole place was reduced to a rubble and a large number of women were carried away. It was a horrible and senseless massacre. Oddly enough, when these things were happening, suddenly the story went out from Lahore that the Indian Army had blinded 4,000 men. It was an outrageous lie. I would like to know how 4,000 men were blinded and where they were now. This was one piece of the propaganda that was being carried on on behalf of the 'Azad Kashmir' government.

I have been quoted as having said in Bombay that the alternatives before Hyderabad were 'war or accession'. This is because of incorrect translation of my speech in Hindustani. In fact, I mentioned neither. What I said was that Hyderabad, situated as it was, must have the closest possible relation with India, or else there would be conflict. No doubt, I had spoken of accession also and the Government still holds that Hyderabad must become part of the Indian Union because of various factors such as geographical, economic, military and political, which cannot be ignored.

There has been talk of independence of Hyderabad. Independence signifies independence in regard to foreign relations, defence and war. If Hyderabad cannot have rights regarding war, defence and foreign relations, then it does not have independence. The Indian Union cannot possibly tolerate any part of the Indian territory, either inside or on its borders, to be potentially capable of being made into a foreign base. No government in India can tolerate this and India's general policy has inevitably been one that would prevent this; it would endanger her security and lead to constant and ceaseless conflict. Hyderabad must, therefore, necessarily form part of the Indian Union. However, India has never talked in terms of forcing, by military methods, any State into accession.

The Government has talked in terms of the people deciding the issue by plebiscite or referendum and not the army deciding the will of the people. The more important issue is the issue of responsible government and from that other issues might flow. Whatever might have been the picture of India a year ago, today there is no part of India without responsible government. No State or any other part of India has got autocratic rule except the Hyderabad State. It is the one and the only exception and, socially speaking, it is a very backward State with its autocracy and feudal set-up. I cannot imagine how this kind of thing can possibly continue when the whole of India has changed. This in itself can produce a conflict between Hyderabad and India. Therefore, responsible government in Hyderabad has become an important and urgent issue.

But the more urgent issue is to have some kind of peace and order on the borders and internally in Hyderabad also. That has to be given first priority, because one cannot have responsible government or any government if

such troubles continue. During the last few months, these troubles have continued on the borders and there have been repeated major incidents—apart from minor incidents—when the Hyderabad police, sometimes people who were reported to belong to the Hyderabad army, and certainly the Razakar volunteer forces, have crossed the borders, and done a good bit of shooting, killing and burning of villages. One such occasion occurred in March last—it was a peculiarly horrible incident and a number of people were killed in a cold and calculated way. Civilians were made to stand in a row of 20 and shot in the Indian Union territory.

Several instances of these raids occurred, and as for minor raids, there were any number of them. Quite apart from the insecurity created on India's borders and the feelings necessarily roused among our own people, it is quite impossible for any government to put up with this kind of thing. Inside Hyderabad territory, apart from one or two major cities like Hyderabad itself, in the rural areas, there is complete insecurity, and burning of villages and occasional killings of persons and looting on a large scale continue. This is the first thing to be tackled in Hyderabad and, therefore, the Government of India have pointed out that this so-called Razakar volunteer force must be curbed, it must be put an end to, just as in India we have tried to put an end to private armies.

The Razakars are a private army which is controlling, or at any rate, harassing large parts of Hyderabad State. Either the State Government sympathises with them and encourages them or is incapable of controlling them. There is no other third explanation. These Razakars are undoubtedly committing what might be termed in international language hostile acts against the Indian Union. If the Hyderabad Government is encouraging and supporting them in those acts, then the Government is guilty of committing hostile acts. If it is not doing so, then it is incapable of controlling them, and the Government therefore does not count at all. That is the fundamental question and other things take a secondary place. If hostile acts cannot be curbed and these raids continue on our borders, then obviously we have to take the strongest measures against the raiders, and if the situation inside Hyderabad territory is very bad and completely out of control of the Government there, then, too, we cannot merely look on.

Q: Has there been an economic blockade of Hyderabad?

JN: We had signed a Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad which, I regret, has not been complied with at all. In fact, almost within 48 hours of that Agreement all manner of things happened. There was a loan given by Hyderabad to Pakistan; there were some currency regulations which were violated; the strength of the Hyderabad army, which under the Standstill Agreement was fixed at 7,000, was rapidly increased to 25,000. The police force which was

limited to a certain figure was also increased. In addition to this, the volunteer force—the Razakars—went up in large numbers. These were all very serious breaches of the Agreement.

The Government of India was naturally interested in seeing that these additional armies were not raised and were not armed. The result was that normally whatever arms the Government of India might have supplied to them were not supplied. The Government of India has information that the Hyderabad Government is trying its utmost, by fair means or otherwise, to get all manner of arms from foreign countries. Many arms are being smuggled in. The Government of India has caught many arms in the act of being smuggled. We discovered that the arms were being imported from various countries of Europe. Some were stopped, and some, of course, went through.

All these active preparations for war were hardly in keeping with the Standstill Agreement or peaceful intentions and, inevitably, any military equipment that we might have agreed to supply were not given, and to that extent we did not follow the Standstill Agreement either.

The customs authorities stopped the passage of such arms. In this process certain things which ought not to have been stopped were also stopped² but later when the Government came to know this, the authorities were directed to pass them on.

So what is happening is not exactly an economic blockade. Had it been an economic blockade, it would have been much more serious, affecting articles of food and other commodities. What happened in effect was with regard to weapons or other material which might go towards the making of weapons.

In regard to the Razakars' activities, the Hyderabad Government had said that some irresponsible people had committed certain acts, but they largely denied the charges against the Razakars. For example, they denied that Mr. Razvi delivered a certain speech,³ but the Government of India has got sufficient evidence to maintain that the speech was made, the exact place and the time when it was delivered and in whose presence it was delivered.

In dealing with Hyderabad we have had to deal not so much with the Nizam, not so much even with the present Government, but with a set of people who are completely unreasonable, to use a mild word. No responsible people can act on the level on which they are acting.

Q: Will the Government of India relax its demand for the accession of Hyderabad if the State is prepared to comply with the other demands?

JN: There can only be two possible ways, one is accession to the Indian

2. It was reported that supply of food, medicines, chlorine and salt was being blocked.

3. See *post*, pp. 211-212.

Union, which means defence, communications and external affairs being controlled by the Union, in which Hyderabad also is represented. It is not submission to the Union but a partnership in a large association of units. That is one way. The other is not acceding, but being in some kind of subsidiary association with India. Here again, the State will have to surrender the three subjects. Thus it can either have a partnership with the Union, with a voice in its affairs, or a subsidiary association in which it does not get the benefits of a Union but has to give up the same subjects.

9. To the President of the Security Council¹

The Government of India have just seen the text of the resolution² on the Indo-Pakistan dispute adopted by the Security Council on the 3rd June. The resolution directs the U.N. Commission, appointed under the Council's resolution of 21st April, "further to study and report to the Council, when it considers appropriate, on the matters raised by the letter of the Foreign Minister of Pakistan of January 15th." These matters, apart from the Kashmir issue, related to (1) Junagadh, (2) genocide and (3) agreements between India and Pakistan.

With regard to these three matters, it has been repeatedly stated on behalf of the Government of India that they do not constitute a threat to international peace, that they are outside the Council's jurisdiction, and that the last two, namely the charges against India of genocide and non-implementation of agreements, are baseless. The Government of India are surprised that, in spite of the facts and arguments adduced on their behalf, the Council should have thought it fit to direct the Commission to study and report on these matters when it considers it appropriate. The Government of India wish to record their emphatic protest against this enlargement of the scope of the Commission's activities and to make it clear that they do not acquiesce in it.

In the communication made to the Security Council by Mr. Vellodi on their behalf on May 7, the Government of India reaffirmed their objections

1. New Delhi, 5 June, 1948. Full text as in P.I.B. Faris Bey El-Khoury; Prime Minister of Syria, 1944-45; Permanent Representative to the United Nations, 1946-51; President, Security Council, August 1947 and June 1948.
2. This was a supplementary resolution sponsored by the Syrian representative at the Security Council, Faris Bey El-Khoury.

to the resolution adopted by the Security Council on April 21 with regard to Kashmir and pointed out that, if, in spite of these objections, the Council should decide to send out the Commission set up under that resolution, the Government of India would be glad to confer with it. The Government of India find themselves unable to go beyond this position. In other words, there can be no question of the Commission proceeding to implement the resolution on Kashmir until the objections raised by the Government of India have been satisfactorily met. If the Commission is to visit India, they would like to know, in advance, the point or points on which it would wish to confer with them.³

3. The President of the Security Council replied to Nehru that the Council had not decided the merits of the matters raised by Pakistan. It had only asked the Commission to collect the maximum information, when it was in a position to do so. Kashmir, in any case, would be accorded priority as per the resolution of 21 April 1948.

10. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

We have often pointed out to you the part that Pakistan Government and the Pakistan Army have been taking in Kashmir operations. Recently there appeared a statement in the London press from a correspondent who wrote from personal knowledge to the effect that three battalions of Pakistan Army were actually operating in Kashmir State. Later he disclosed that a fourth regular Pakistan battalion had gone to Kashmir. We have ourselves collected evidence which is steadily mounting which goes to show that Pakistan troops are taking an active part in Kashmir. This evidence indicates that right from the commencement of operations help of various kinds has been given to raiders and invaders who came to Kashmir across Pakistan territory, that equipment, arms and transport were supplied to them, and that Pakistan Army men were encouraged to go there. Latterly this evidence indicates that several battalions of Pakistan Army are functioning in Kashmir. I am not giving this evidence in detail in this telegram but am prepared to give you the substance of it when we meet here.

Meanwhile, I shall indicate briefly one type of evidence that is from record of statements of captured personnel of Pakistan Army units, who are now in New Delhi.

1. New Delhi, 10 June 1948. File No. KS-64/48, M.H.A.

One sepoy of 4/13 F.F., R.I.F., captured at Jhangar on 10th May stated that his whole battalion was operating in the Jhangar area. Another sepoy captured on Uri-Domel road on 24th May stated that his whole battalion was operating in Chakothi area. The names of the battalions had been changed into code names. We are further informed by captured Pak Army personnel that documents and marks of identification of all ranks were removed before they went into action. Several captured sepoys of Pak Army support these statements and state that their entire battalions were in action in the Chakothi area.

Other ancillary pieces of evidence also support this conclusion. We have in our possession a shelling report of 3 Mountain Battery, 21 Mountain Regiment, captured near Poonch. We have also in our possession paraphernalia of officers and men of the 4/16 Punjab Regiment which was obtained on the Uri-Domel road.

You would appreciate that the participation of regular Pakistan troops in Kashmir operations raises the most vital questions as between India and Pakistan. I have been reluctant to believe that the Pakistan Government would conduct itself in this manner not only in direct hostility to India but also contrary to its own public utterances but the evidence we have obtained can leave little doubt on this question and I am therefore addressing you on this subject so that I might have your comments. The matter is of the gravest consequence.

6

KASHMIR

II. Military Campaign

1. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am sorry I have been unable to meet you during the last few days. I have been particularly anxious to talk to you about Kashmir and the arrangements being made now for future operations. I am leaving early tomorrow morning for Bombay and shall return on the 27th afternoon. Hence I am writing to you.

2. I must confess to you that I am not satisfied with the slowness of events in Kashmir. Everything seems to take a long time before it is decided and another long period before it is implemented. After six months of warfare we have not learnt from experience and adapted ourselves to the requirements of the situation. We move heavily and massively against irregulars who hover about and make a nuisance of themselves. This approach made the British Army ineffective against the Japanese till new tactics were adopted by Wingate² and others.³ It was because of this that some months ago we talked about irregulars being formed. It has taken a mighty long time for these irregulars to be trained and got ready. After we had got three battalions ready the I.N.A. trouble cropped up resulting in some hundreds of these trained people walking away to their homes. I do not know if any decision has been taken about them yet.

3. I have heard vague rumours about the new set-up⁴ in Kashmir. I do not quite know what it is or perhaps it has not been finally decided yet. There appears to have been varying decisions. I should have liked to be told what has been happening and what it is proposed to do, both as Prime Minister and as one deeply interested in Kashmir affairs. Kashmir is not

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Orde Wingate (1903-1944); British general known for his unorthodox ideas and methods; in 1942 he organised the Chindits—fighters trained in jungle warfare—who operated in Burma.

3. During the Second World War, Wingate, with a brigade of British and Gurkha guerillas, fought the stronger invading forces of Japan in central Burma. He disrupted the enemy's lines of communications by long-range penetrations, thus supporting the main forces. Though these battles with the Japanese were lost Wingate's theories were largely vindicated.

4. As it was found difficult to operate both in the Kashmir Valley and Jammu province from one divisional headquarters, the Indian Army Command at Srinagar was split into two divisions on 1 May 1948, one under Major-General K.S. Thimayya being made responsible for Jammu and Poonch and the other under Major-General Atma Singh for Kashmir.

only a military problem but a political one and the two have to be inter-related all the time. Even from the military point of view, while our armies have done well, I have a strong feeling that they might have done better if the general strategy as well as the tactics adopted had been different. There is a constant demand for more and more men, even though the hostiles opposing us are relatively few in number. While the enemy appears to be less and less in number we want more and more. I can quite understand the desire to be strong and to hit effectively. But too much caution and too heavy a moving machine might defeat its own purpose. We have at present to deal with relatively small enemy forces spread out all over the place making a nuisance of themselves. We move heavily, deliberately and slowly for each action and no doubt gain our objective. But surely the main objective is not to capture one place or another but to break up and drive out the enemy. This requires swift blows in many places and no time given for reformation and recuperation. As our army set-up is constituted at present we cannot function in this swift way because our men do not carry enough rations and have to take a lot of paraphernalia with them. Whether this can be improved or not, I do not know. But surely some attempt should be made to improve it. Or else the irregulars must come into the picture more and more.

4. I have no doubt in my mind that the enemy's morale is low now and swift action will produce results. Politically, after the Security Council resolution,⁵ it has become essential for quick action. Any delay at this stage will be harmful to us.

5. I have heard rather vaguely that the new set-up divides Kashmir State into two—a divisional commander in Kashmir Area and a divisional commander in Jammu, each functioning independently of the other. This may have some advantages, but I should have thought that the closest coordination was necessary between the two, and how far this will be obtained in this way, I do not know.

6. The irregulars that Thimayya trained presumably are going to Kashmir.⁶ But I am not aware of any final decision about them. I have been greatly distressed at the fact that some hundreds of them have left their

5. See *ante*, p. 155, fn 3.

6. General Thimayya had raised a militia of irregulars in East Punjab soon after the dissolution of the Punjab Boundary Force in September 1947. Composed mainly of ex-I.N.A. personnel it was meant to be used as a state force to support the Indian Army.

regiments because of a curious interpretation of our I.N.A. policy.⁷ I do not agree with the interpretation and I want this matter to be considered fully so that there may be no mistakes in the future. I just do not understand why we should follow a policy which prevents us from using these irregulars as we should have done. Our objective surely is to gain results and not to satisfy some private opinion. The matter is too serious for us to deal with it lightly in this way. I am going to Bombay and the I.N.A. matter is bound to be raised there. I am going to be put in a very false position because of recent developments in regard to these irregulars.

7. These irregulars are supposed to belong in some way to the Indian Army. I greatly fear that if they function as the army they will become as heavy moving and will lose the peculiar characteristics and ability of irregulars and guerrillas. Apart from this, there is another important consideration. If the irregulars could be attached to the Kashmir State Army they would be available to the State even if our forces in Kashmir are to be limited in future. This is an important matter to be borne in mind.

8. I am writing to you rather hurriedly and disjointedly. But I hope I have given you some indication of what I have in mind. As soon as I come back from Bombay I want a meeting of our principal officers to discuss the various matters mentioned above. This does not mean that anything should be held up till I come back. I want speed above everything. But I want to know exactly what is being done and the reason for it. If you like, you can show this letter to Cariappa, Chaudhuri and any other of our officers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Government attached no stigma to the ex-I.N.A. men for reinstatement in the army but expressed difficulties in taking them back *en bloc*. It, however, offered them opportunities of employment in the Home Guards, the State Forces, the Armed Constabulary, the police and like services. The ex-I.N.A. men were dissatisfied with this policy.

2. To F. R. R. Bucher¹

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Roy,

I have been frightfully busy during the last few days and I am going away to Bombay early tomorrow morning. I shall return on the 27th afternoon.

I am rather worried at the slow pace of developments in regard to Kashmir. I feel strongly that this is the right moment to give rapid blows and break up the morale of the enemy which is already low. We seem to take a long time in the preliminaries and then move slowly and heavily forward.

I do not know what the proposed set-up in Kashmir is. It appears to have changed repeatedly during the last few days.

On my return from Bombay I want to discuss these matters with you and the Defence Minister and others. That does not mean that anything should be held up till my return.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. To Liaquat Ali Khan¹

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Nawabzada,

Please refer to my letter No. 540/PM dated the 6th March 1948² regarding the alleged violation of Pakistan territory by regular Indian and Kashmir State troops and armed bands of civilians from across the border of Jammu and Kashmir State.

All the alleged incidents were thoroughly investigated and no confirmation could be obtained of their having taken place. We have, however, as already intimated to you in my previous letter, given the strictest instructions

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 250-251.

to our defence forces not to violate Pakistan territory and have no doubt that these instructions have in the past been and in the future will be loyally carried out by our troops.

I regret the delay in writing, but the investigation of the alleged incidents necessarily took some time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Lesson of Kashmir¹

We will see this Kashmir business through. We do not believe in leaving things half-done. We will send more troops. We will muster all our resources and fight till we succeed.

One fact, however, which contributed to our success, at least as much as the military operations, was the maintenance, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, of the civil administration and the morale of the civil population. The civil population, completely unarmed, with the enemy within a few miles of the city, behaved in the manner which showed extraordinary courage and coolness. They did so because they had a great leader and because Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all joined together under him to throw back the enemy and to save Kashmir and their common inheritance. This fact is one of the most remarkable events of recent times.

1. Message given for a special supplement on Kashmir printed in *National Herald*, 30 April 1948.

5. Kashmir—a World Issue¹

The Kashmir problem involves issues which affect not only India but the world. The Security Council in handling the Kashmir issue has discussed all sorts of irrelevant questions and arrived at a strange decision while ignoring the main issue. If the United Nations takes a wrong decision, it is likely to affect world peace.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Srinagar, 11 May 1948. From *National Herald*, 12 May 1948.

India wanted the Kashmir question to be settled constitutionally but a barbarous invasion has ruined her plans. I regret the hardships the Kashmiris are suffering and hope they will be progressively lessened. As a Kashmiri I feel it very deeply, but I will not be influenced by personal sentiments. The Government of India took the decision they did, after carefully considering the pros and cons. If the method adopted by the invaders is justified, it will only mean that might is right.

Our position today is the same as in last October when Indian forces were sent to Kashmir. The raiders, who devastated towns and villages, massacred the people, abducted women and looted property, must be thrown out in the quickest possible time. We know what happened at Baramulla,² Rajauri³ and other places and can imagine what would have happened if Srinagar had fallen.

Countries like the U.S. have shown that religion has nothing to do with citizenship. India's freedom is based on equal rights, irrespective of creed, colour or religion, and I stand by the secular character of the Indian state.

The colonial government created communal divisions and encouraged the growth of religious parties. Partially we ourselves are also to blame. Mahatma Gandhi's foremost ideal was to create communal harmony, but growth and development of communal parties eventually led to the partition of India, and the partition, based on the two-nation theory, led to bloodshed and misery. History will judge whether we were right in agreeing to the partition, though we agreed to it with good intentions.

Pakistan is creating a poisonous atmosphere. However, in Kashmir, under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, Muslims and Hindus regard Kashmir as their motherland. There is communal amity. This is a big achievement.

Many houses evacuated by the Muslims in Delhi are kept vacant although non-Muslim refugees coming from different parts of Pakistan need shelter. These houses are being given back to the Muslims returning to Delhi. Recently nearly 50,000 Muslims returned to Delhi while a number of Muslims are still fleeing Sind and other parts of Pakistan and coming into India. This has created formidable difficulties for resettlement, but whatever the difficulties, the Government will stick to what they consider a right decision. I have no doubt in my mind that India will become one of the greatest powers, because she believes in certain fundamental principles.

2. On 27 October 1947, the raiders attacked Baramulla where the worst indiscriminate killings took place. In this predominantly Muslim town out of 14,000 Hindus only 3,000 were said to have survived, and the raiders even attacked and sacked a Christian hospital and a convent where several inmates including seven nuns were killed.
3. Rajauri was captured by the raiders in November 1947. The Indian troops entered Rajauri on 12 April 1948 and the raiders ran away leaving the town looted, burnt and pillaged.

Pakistan is following a different course, although it claims that its citizens have equal rights. The conditions, however, do not conform to these claims. But circumstances will make Pakistan change this course.

The Indian troops have discharged their responsibilities and helped the refugees, both Hindu and Muslim, in a praiseworthy manner. The real celebrations will be when there is peace throughout Kashmir. We must be united in pursuit of India's high ideals, and I hope that the union between Kashmir and India will be everlasting.

6. Nothing to Conceal¹

I have seen, in the press, reports of a statement² said to have been made by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, on my letter to the President of the Security Council dated 5th June 1948.³ I do not propose to enter into the merits of Pakistan's charges against India of genocide and non-implementation of agreements with Pakistan or against the accession of Junagadh to India. Our views have been repeatedly stated before the Security Council and also in statements made by me and some of my colleagues. We regard the accusations of genocide and non-implementation of agreements as baseless. That we have protested against the Security Council's decision to include these charges within the scope of the functions of the Council's Commission is not due to a desire to conceal anything. Because India has nothing to conceal is no reason why India should acquiesce in investigation, by an outside body, in something which, in our view, is outside the competence of that body and which has no foundation in fact.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan has also attributed India's decision to refer the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council to a desire to gain time in which to force a military decision. A reference to India's complaint to the Security

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 10 June 1948. From *National Herald*, 11 June 1948.
2. In a statement on 9 June 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan alleged that India was hesitant to let an international body investigate the charges of genocide and breach of agreements because she was "not so sure of the righteousness" of her case. He also alleged that the Indian Government was determined to drive out of Kashmir all those who might vote for the State's accession to Pakistan and, under such conditions, a plebiscite would be meaningless.
3. For Nehru's letter of 5 June, see *ante*, pp. 171-172.

Council will show that, contrary to what Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has suggested; India has all along insisted on the urgency of action by the Council on her complaint against Pakistan. If such action has not been taken, the fault is not India's. In referring the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council India never intended to sacrifice her freedom of military action to rid the State of Jammu and Kashmir of all invaders and to restore peace. She has both the right and the obligation to do so in respect of a State which has acceded to her. It is strange that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should complain of India's action in using her resources to achieve this legitimate and human object.

Once more allegations have been made of atrocities by Indian troops against "defenceless old men, women and children in the areas occupied by them." I most emphatically repudiate this unfounded charge. The purpose of these accusations, often repeated but without any vestige of truth, can only be to divert the attention of the world from the barbarous atrocities which the raiders, whom Pakistan has been so actively aiding and abetting, have been committing on innocent civilians regardless of creed, sex or age, in the areas which they occupy or into which they have penetrated. Such crimes against humanity can never be concealed. Baramulla, Bhimbar, Mirpur and Rajauri, to cite only a few instances, will always proclaim the infamy of their cruel assailants.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has complained of Indian troops violating Pakistan's frontiers and Indian airmen bombing villages well within Pakistan boundaries. Every complaint of the violation by our troops of Pakistan's frontiers that could be investigated has been enquired into. Most of these complaints have, on enquiry, proved to be baseless. As is well known, the raiders, when forced to retire from State territory, often flee into Pakistan. Our troops chase them up to the frontier of the State, this is their duty as well as their right. As regards our airmen also, every complaint of Pakistan has been carefully investigated. In the particular case of Garhi Habibullah⁴ which the Pakistan Prime Minister has quoted, a double investigation was made to establish the facts and the regret of the Government of India has already been communicated to the Government of Pakistan for the incident. The history of two World Wars shows how impossible it is to avoid damage to neutrals through *bona fide* mistakes of observation. No aggression against Pakistan was intended.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has referred to "the exemplary patience" shown by the Government of Pakistan "in the face of provocations." He has conveniently forgotten the continuous and continuing provocation to which the Government of India have been subjected ever since the invasion, last October, by tribesmen, of the Valley of Kashmir, itself inspired by Pakistan,

4. According to Liaquat Ali Khan the Indian Air Force had dropped bombs on Garhi Habibullah killing 23 and injuring ten civilians.

in the shape of every kind of aid given by Pakistan to the aggressor. More recently, Pakistan troops have, in strength, been opposing Indian troops on the Uri front. It is idle, in the circumstances, either to speak of the Pakistan Government's "anxiety to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with India" or to suggest that Indian action in Kashmir constitutes a "grave threat to the security of Pakistan" or a campaign of "murder and destruction" against the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Far from seeking to murder and destroy Muslims in the State, Indian forces have been used to protect them against ruthless marauders whom Pakistan has let loose. An Interim Government, representative of the people, headed by a Muslim who has for years been the most outstanding leader of popular and progressive forces in Jammu and Kashmir, and composed of a majority of Muslims, has been formed in the State. On the question of accession, India has repeatedly affirmed that the freely declared will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir shall prevail. Though, short of a declaration of war, Pakistan has done everything to help the invaders of, and the insurgents within, the State, the Government of India have acted with unexampled restraint in the interests of peace. They still desire to live on the friendliest possible terms with the neighbour state of Pakistan. The fulfilment of that desire, however, is more likely to be defeated than achieved by the kind of statement which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is reported to have made yesterday.

7. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Reference my telegram Primin 1330 of 10th June regarding the part that Pakistan Army have been taking in Kashmir operations. We have received no reply from you yet. You will appreciate that this matter is of the most urgent and grave consequence. I had hoped to discuss this with you had our meeting taken place as planned. Further careful scrutiny of available evidence by our Chiefs of Staff as well as other information confirm our previous statement about regular formations of the Pakistan Army participating in Kashmir operations. In the interests of peace between India and Pakistan this matter has to be cleared up. I would invite you again therefore to send me your comments on the situation that has arisen. A very early reply is requested.

1. New Delhi, 16 June 1948. File No. KS-6438, M.H.A.

8. Publicity Work in Kashmir¹

I am glad to find that effective steps are now being taken to further publicity and propaganda in Jammu and Kashmir State. It has long been recognised that the political front in that State is as important as the military front. Indeed in every military operation the political front is always important and the population affected has to be approached in every way—people to be won over, those in our favour to have their morale strengthened, and those against us to have their morale weakened. In the present instance in Kashmir this is even more important than elsewhere. Essentially the future of Kashmir will depend on the wishes of the vast majority of the population there. If there is a plebiscite, this is obvious, if there is no plebiscite, even so it is the will of the people that will ultimately prevail. Therefore, it becomes essential for us to influence and win over the people of Kashmir State, both Muslims and non-Muslims, and to make them believe that their future advantage lies in clearing the State of the raiders and invaders and in fully cooperating with the present administration there.

Kashmir also offers a unique opportunity for propaganda for communal peace and harmony based on a democratic structure of government where all the citizens have free play and equal opportunity.

In the notes submitted to me I have not seen any reference to the propaganda to be carried on in the areas that are held by hostile forces at present. Both from the political and the military points of view this is quite essential and our army officers have repeatedly emphasised this. The Pakistan people and the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' government have been carrying on a most virulent propaganda and thereby deluding and threatening the people. They are made to believe that if the Indian Army comes in or if Sheikh Abdullah's administration functions there, there will be a total elimination of the Muslim population. This terrible fear compels the Muslim residents of these areas to line up with the 'Azad Kashmir' people for the alternative appears to them to be death and annihilation. This has to be countered in every way and they are to be told what the Indian forces and Sheikh Abdullah's administration stand for. Thus it is highly important that effective propaganda should be carried on in areas held by the hostiles. This is an essential ingredient to military advance in those areas and to the political preparation for the changes to come.

Another important matter which I should like to clear up is the line of policy to be adopted in our general propaganda—whether by radio, newspaper, leaflets or any other means. The policy to be adopted is of the highest significance. Obviously that policy must fit in with the larger policy of the

1. Note to Information and Broadcasting Ministry, New Delhi, 17 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

Indian Government and must be in line with the policy of the Kashmir administration. It must be such as to appeal to the mass of the Kashmir people and make them firm supporters of the present administration there. I should, therefore, like to have details as to what directions have been given about this policy and more especially the type of radio broadcasts and news that is meant to be given. It is desirable that there should be the closest cooperation between our publicity and Sheikh Abdullah's administration. It might be worthwhile to associate some representative of that administration with our work. I should be grateful, therefore, if I am informed of the nature of directions given to the officers and others we are sending to Jammu and Kashmir State.

Sheikh Abdullah is coming here this afternoon and some of these matters will no doubt be discussed with him. A very early reply is, therefore, required to the queries I have made above.

9. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

Your telegram No. 2267 dated 16th June has surprised me. I had brought to your notice some specific instances of the proof we possess of the participation of the regular forces of Pakistan Army in Kashmir State. It is immaterial for the present what was said in the Security Council on our behalf or on yours. I am not indulging in recriminations or in vague accusations. If the facts in our possession are true, as I believe they are, then certain conclusions follow. I considered it my duty to place these facts before you. Your answer is vague and side-tracks the main issue. I shall be grateful if you will send me a definite answer to the questions I have put to you in regard to the Pakistan Army functioning in Kashmir State territory.

Your representative at the Security Council made many statements which seemed to me to surpass all limits of decency and veracity. In your telegram you have repeated the charge of large-scale extermination of Muslims by our military and of brutal attacks on civil populations. I deny this completely.

It is true that there exists a serious and dangerous situation in Kashmir. That seriousness and danger is not of our causing but because an unprovoked attack was made on Kashmir aided and abetted by Pakistan and this has been persisting. I am always prepared to discuss the Kashmir or any other question with you but I do not wish to create any misapprehension in your mind. We cannot tolerate invasion and raids in Kashmir State by any outside authority and we must resist them to the utmost.

1. New Delhi, 18 June 1948. File No. KS-64/48, M.H.A.

10. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
23 June 1948

My dear Krishna,

The last ten days prior to the Mountbattens' departure were rather hectic owing to numerous engagements. They left India in quite a blaze of popularity. Dickie Mountbatten had a measure of this. But Edwina had succeeded in becoming friends with quite a large circle of people who became very attached to her. Her departure has been felt by them greatly. . . .

The situation here is, as usual, peculiar. Hyderabad and Kashmir rather dominate the scene. Prices continue to go up and there is a general tension which seems to grow as between India and Pakistan. We have difficult enough problems and Pakistan is in a far worse condition. They are having trouble in the Frontier Province and Sind and to some extent in eastern Bengal. In western Punjab there is a powerful movement against the present Pakistan Government and even more so the West Punjab Government. All over certain disruptive tendencies are at work.

You have been informed of the latest developments in Hyderabad and Kashmir. We have had a great deal of detailed evidence about Pakistan's part in Kashmir right from the beginning. Now there is no doubt that Pakistan troops are fighting almost equally and in formations in Kashmir territory against us. There is no doubt also that British military officers have been concerned in this intrigue. It is indeed impossible for them to be ignorant of it. You know that the Pakistan Army is full of British officers and recently several hundred British officers and technicians joined the Pak Army. British Governors in Pakistan provinces have also had their share in this business. Mudie of course is the villain *par excellence*. The amount of mischief he has done is something incredible. The British Government should be made to realise what their officers in Pakistan have done and how powerfully this has reacted on Indian opinion. Inevitably people think that it is a deliberate policy of the British Government to create trouble between India and Pakistan.

In regard to Hyderabad there is little doubt now that gun-running by air has been taking place. Four-engined Halifax Bombers have been functioning and they are presumably British registered and have British crews. All this has had a very bad effect on India's reactions to England. Monckton behaved well during his last visit.

I am writing briefly to you today as I have to go off soon to Lucknow.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

11. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan¹

I have drawn your attention to a very serious development in the Kashmir situation, namely the open use of regular Pakistan troops against the Indian Army functioning in Kashmir State which is the territory of the Indian Union. Apart from this justifying completely what we have said in the past about Pakistan helping the raiders into Kashmir State territory, it raises new issues in an acute form. I had hoped that you would be good enough to send me a clear and unequivocal reply to my query. I regret to find, however, that in your telegrams there is no such reply and no clear denial of the charge made. I can only take it that you agree with that charge and that in fact the Pakistan Army is functioning in Jammu and Kashmir State and is opposing Indian troops there. How far this is compatible with two countries having diplomatic and friendly relations I leave it to you to judge. How far, again, is it compatible with the many inter-Dominion agreements that we have arrived at and which we are trying to implement to the best of our ability? It may be necessary to review the whole situation in the light of this serious development.

The issue is an exceedingly simple one. Is the Pakistan Army or any part thereof functioning in Jammu and Kashmir State territory? We have adequate proof of this, but I have no doubt that your information on the subject is greater. I would request a very early and clear answer to my query.

1. New Delhi, 25 June 1948. File No. K.S. 63/48, p. 34, M.H.A. Extracts.

12. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Krishna,

This is the second letter I am dictating to you today.

You will be kept in touch with general developments in Kashmir and Hyderabad. There is one aspect of them which I should like again to bring to your notice because it is particularly affecting Indian opinion. This aspect

1. J.N. Collection.

is the help given by large numbers of Englishmen to every opponent of the Indian Union, whether it is Pakistan or Hyderabad or 'Azad Kashmir'. It is difficult to tie up this help with British governmental policy but the public, of course, cannot distinguish between the two and sometimes even we cannot distinguish.

British diplomatic and consular representatives in various parts of the world represent Pakistan interests. As such they do propaganda for Pakistan and they come in our way sometimes. Most of them are anti-Indian anyhow and whether they get instructions from their Government or not they gladly act in an anti-Indian manner. Recently the *Kashmir Story* film was to be shown in Indonesia. The Dutch Government permitted this. At the last moment the British Consul there objected on behalf of Pakistan and the film was not shown. In Kashghar in Central Asia the British Consul again is coming in our way.

The Pakistan Army is full of British officers and cannot function without them. More and more Britishers are coming in. I have no doubt at all that many of these British officers are fully connected with Kashmir operations. It is quite impossible for the top ranking officers like Gracey, the Commander-in-Chief, to be unaware of what the Pakistan Army is doing in Kashmir. Bucher admitted this much. Till lately they denied any direct knowledge but now even that denial is not clearly forthcoming.

Apart from military officers, Pakistan is full of British civil officers and technicians. Some of these officers are of the worst type and are those who were kicked out from India. Mudie, of course, is a thoroughly bad person from every point of view.

In Hyderabad, the State Government has been receiving help from British sources for a long time past under various guises. We are informed by a responsible person that a number of high ranking Britishers are at present in Hyderabad incognito. At the end of last year a group of so-called British journalists visited Hyderabad. We are told that they were representatives of British armament makers and they advised Hyderabad about defence and attack etc. In particular they told the Government there to keep squadrons of planes outside Indian territory so that they could be used when the time came against India. Many such planes have been purchased by Hyderabad during the last two years or so from British and American disposals in China, Burma and elsewhere. Hyderabad keeps these planes in Pakistan territory or even in the Middle East. Our information is that some bomber planes are kept in East Bengal, some in western Pakistan, a squadron in Basra and a squadron in Persia. The air crews are usually Poles or Czechs.

It is becoming notorious that there is constant gun-running between some place in the Middle East and Hyderabad via Karachi. The aircraft used is a Halifax Bomber with a European crew, probably British. These air journeys serve two purposes—they take arms and bring back gold.

Of course, all this is done in complete cooperation with Pakistan. In fact it is a joint policy. There is some basis for saying that Hyderabad wants a war and might even instigate it.

Barton² went to Lisbon on behalf of Hyderabad chiefly in connection with Goa. Our report is that a secret treaty was signed authorising Hyderabad to use Goa as a port in case of need. For this purpose Hyderabad will spend a great deal of money in developing harbour and port facilities in Goa. The idea presumably is that Pakistan or Middle East troops could come via Goa to Hyderabad.

There is, of course, the active sympathy and help of the Conservative Party of Britain. I do not quite know what Monckton is doing now. He went away from here very angry with the Nizam and cursing him and his present government freely. Nevertheless, I do not feel at all happy about what he might do. There is talk of reference to U.N.O. and Monckton going to Lake Success to support them. I rather doubt if he will go, but very probably there will be a reference to U.N.O.

We are informed that British Secret Service men have been loaned to the Hyderabad Government. They are working in the London office of the Pakistan Embassy there. All this and more is creating a feeling of bitterness against the British Government and people and I want to apprise you of it. The British Government's attitude, as represented by Noel-Baker in the Security Council over the Kashmir issue, has, of course, done much to irritate Indian opinion against Britain and the British Government.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. William Barton (1871-1956); entered I.C.S. 1893; served in N.W.F.P. in various capacities; Resident in Baroda, 1919, in Mysore, 1920-25, and in Hyderabad, 1925-30; came to India with Supply Mission, 1940-41; author of *The Princes of India* (1934), *India's North West Frontier* (1939) and *India's Fateful Hour* (1942).

13. Cable to the Maharaja of Nepal¹

For some weeks past there has been progressive increase in large scale participation of regular Pakistan troops against our forces in Kashmir. Several battalions have been identified on Uri front; artillery which could have

1. New Delhi, 29 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

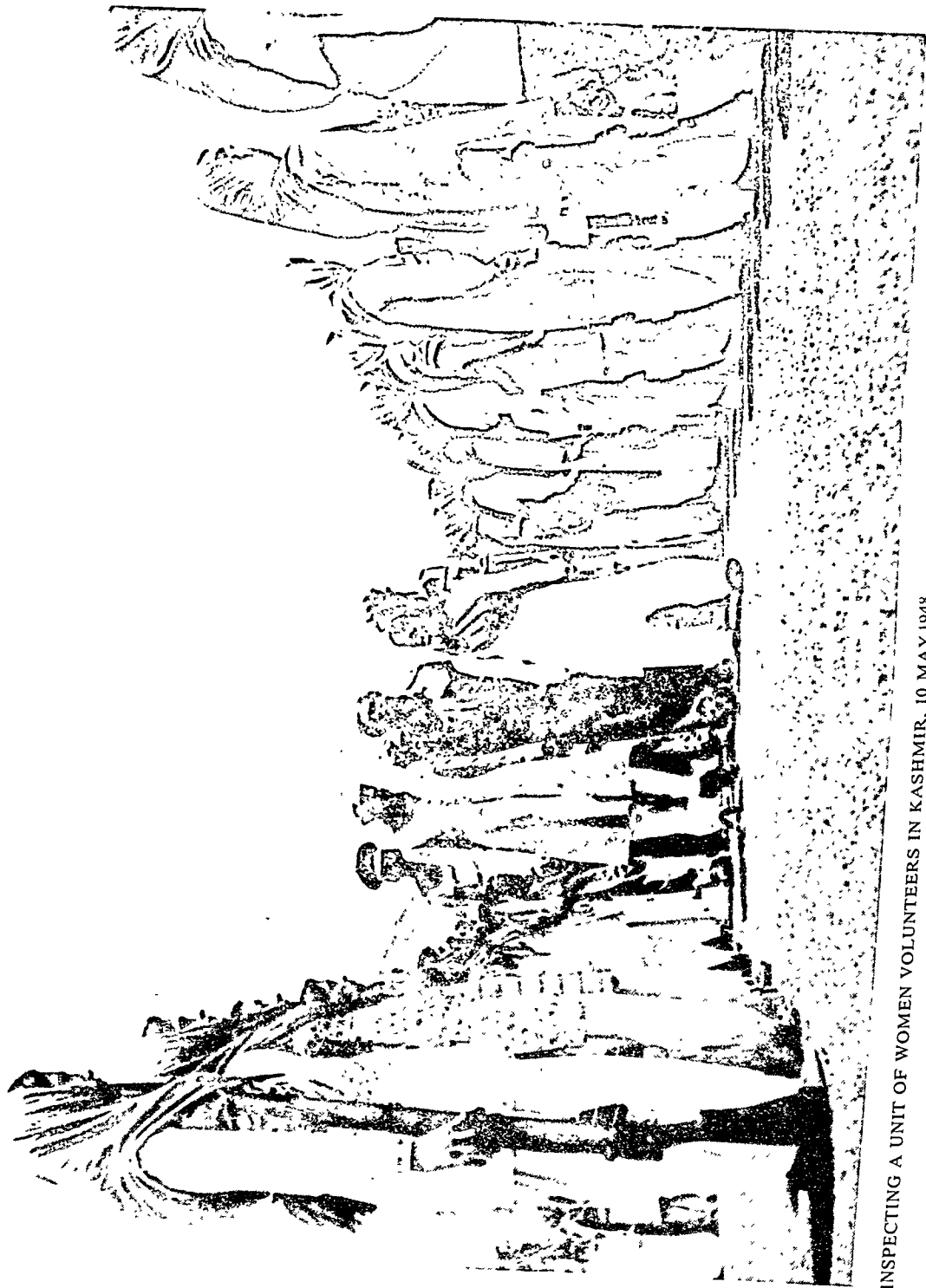
come only from Pakistan has been used to shell our positions. Abundance of munitions being used again is further evidence of intensification of Pakistan's direct share in these operations. Latest information is that on Uri front, convoys have been moving from Pakistan into Kashmir at rate of 200 trucks every night, doubtless carrying men and material.

2. To direct enquiries addressed to Pakistan Government regarding their waging undeclared war against us, there has been no clear answer, only equivocation and evasion.

3. We have carefully examined the whole military situation. Our defence requirements along East Punjab frontier against possible attack by Pakistan and need to maintain forces in strength against possible developments in Hyderabad leave practically no margin for reinforcing troops in Kashmir. This could only be done by reducing to danger point regular troops newly employed on internal security. Indian provinces are and have been working hard to build up home guards for security purposes but the process takes time and it will be some months before these guards could be completely relied upon to relieve regular troops for military operations. On other hand, immediate reinforcement of troops in Kashmir is essential to enable us to achieve military objectives that we consider necessary for security of Jammu and Kashmir State and also of East Punjab. We have recently sanctioned raising of additional fifteen battalions but this again will take time. During Second World War Nepal Government lent us ten battalions of their own troops for internal security and thus enabled us to move seasoned forces to centres of operation. We shall be grateful if Your Highness could give us the same help now. It is not our intention to use these troops for military operations; they will be used purely as garrisons for maintenance of internal security in Indian provinces such as West Bengal, U.P. and Bihar. Nepal has often, in the past, helped us to defend a just cause and I sincerely hope that, under Your Highness' guidance, she will decide to do so again.

4. In view of urgency of matter, I shall be grateful for early answer. If Your Highness' Government is prepared to accept our request for troops in principle, details of terms etc. on which they will be employed can be worked out quickly.





INSPECTING A UNIT OF WOMEN VOLUNTEERS IN KASHMIR, 10 MAY 1948

6

KASHMIR

III. Internal Developments

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
6 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of 5 May about the Kashmir celebrations.² I entirely agree with you. When I decided to go to Kashmir I had no idea of these celebrations except that I had vaguely heard of some celebrations, chiefly to attract visitors. I was rather taken aback when I saw the programme. Lady Mountbatten was also due to go with me, but Mountbatten did not like the idea of her associating herself with political functions and so she has dropped out.

When Sheikh Abdullah was here a few days ago, I spoke to him somewhat on the lines of your letter and more particularly said that there should be no gun firing. I am now sending him a telegram, a copy of which I enclose.³ I am afraid, however, that there is bound to be some kind of a *tamasha*, for the Kashmiris love this kind of thing.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Patel urged Nehru to use his influence to ensure that the Kashmir freedom celebrations were held on a low key in view of the fighting still going on. The object being to show the high morale of the people of Kashmir and their determination to hold fast to their freedom, a gun salute seemed to him most inappropriate.

3. See the next item.

2. Telegram to S.M. Abdullah¹

Expect reach Srinagar 9 May at 9 morning. Maharaja has invited me to lunch at Srinagar on 9th. I would like to accept this invitation. If you agree kindly arrange accordingly and inform Maharaja.

Sardar Patel and I have carefully considered programme of your celebrations. We feel that in view of struggle going on and general scarcity and poverty, it would be inappropriate to have too much of a *tamasha*. I trust, therefore, that you will tone down this aspect of celebrations which might not be in tune with present conditions and might not be welcomed by many persons. Generally speaking, functions might be few. In particular firing of guns should be given up.

1. New Delhi, 7 May 1948. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. I, pp. 187-188.

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
12 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned from Kashmir today after a very tiring but stimulating visit. On the whole the celebrations there were successful and impressive. There can be no doubt that Sheikh Abdullah's popularity in Srinagar and the Valley is very great. I paid a visit to our Uri front also and found our soldiers full of spirit and in great mettle. The general situation, both political and military, appeared to me on the whole satisfactory, though the machine moves more slowly than I would like. We may have some substantial results by the end of the month.

On the political side there is a great deal of confusion. Obviously the most efficient person is Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, who gets things done, though in doing this he does not always follow rules and regulations. A great deal of stress has been laid to what might be called psychological preparation of the people. This is of course very necessary and the effort has succeeded in the Valley at least. But the administrative side is probably weak though I had no occasion to examine it or go into it in any way. The strain on the administration, because of lack of funds, is very great and the refugee problem is a great drain. Indeed, the Government is at its wit's end how to meet the expenses on the refugees. Sardar Budh Singh,² a very fine and upright man, is the Relief Minister and he was almost in tears when he spoke to me of his difficulties.

The transport problem is also a very great difficulty. Transport is practically monopolised for military purposes. I passed hundreds of lorries on the Jammu-Banihal road carrying military equipment and supplies. Civil transport suffers accordingly—both to send salt and other necessities and to take away Kashmir products which are accumulating there.

There continues to be an undercurrent of tension between the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah.³ There was no incident while I was there and Sheikh Abdullah was courteous throughout to the Maharaja, who participated in some of the functions. But the fact remains that there is this tension.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1884-1975); founded Kisan Party in Jammu, 1925; Minister in Kashmir Government, 1948-50; President, Provincial National Conference, Jammu, 1950-54; Member, Rajya Sabha 1952-64.

3. The Interim Government of Sheikh Abdullah, which had been functioning since March 1948 on the principle of joint responsibility, ran into trouble with Maharaja of Kashmir, because the two sides espoused divergent views and followed different policies. The Maharaja was concerned about his position as a constitutional Ruler in respect of non-reserved subjects and insisted that his special powers in relation to reserved subjects should be recognised by his Ministry.

The Maharaja means well but cannot easily get out of the habits of a lifetime. His reluctance to meet people helps in creating misunderstandings. I do not think he will deliberately do anything to create trouble. The difficulty is that he is frightfully unpopular not only with the common people but with almost everyone he meets, including foreigners. I have advised Sheikh Abdullah to treat him with all tact and courtesy.

You must have seen Ghulam Abbas' statement which indicates that 'Azad Kashmir' is in a pretty bad way.⁴ All our own accounts confirm this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

4. Ghulam Abbas became the 'supreme head' of 'Azad Kashmir' in March 1948 soon after his release by Sheikh Abdullah. Sardar Ibrahim Khan and his followers who had run the 'Azad Kashmir' government earlier regarded Abbas as an agent of Sheikh Abdullah and alleged that he had been released as a result of a secret pact with the National Conference. Abbas criticised them in a statement for corruption and mismanagement of funds.

4. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
19 May 1948

My dear Sheikh Abdullah,

I have been trying to get in touch with you on the telephone without success. I wanted to ask you to send me immediately Lady Mountbatten's programme for Jammu and Srinagar. She intends spending two days there, May 27th and 28th. I understand that General Cariappa's staff are drawing up her programme. Obviously your wishes must be consulted. Could you therefore kindly get in touch with Cariappa's staff and finalise the programme? Cariappa and you can decide whether she should go to Jammu first or to Srinagar.

Krishna Menon is here for a week or ten days. If possible I should like him to go to Srinagar for a day to meet you and have a general look around. He cannot go there for more than a day. Probably this day will be the 26th. I shall let you know definitely.

I saw some papers today from the States Ministry about a reference made by the Maharaja regarding certain decisions of your Cabinet about Jager. He had asked for directions about both the procedure to be followed and the merits. The matter was referred to me by the States Ministry.

On the merits I have little doubt that the *jagirdari* system has to go both in Kashmir and elsewhere.² The only question is how and in what manner and if necessary by what stages it should go. We should naturally adopt a course which is both effective and which creates as little opposition as possible. On the one side it is obviously desirable to promote social reform measures which create a good impression on the people. On the other side any step taken should avoid conflicts and new problems.

As regards the procedure to be adopted in such cases, I would suggest that it would smoothen matters very much if before any decisions are taken personal talk took place between you or Bakshi and the Maharaja. The Maharaja, I feel, is prepared to agree to anything provided he is not made to feel that he is ignored and treated with discourtesy. A previous consultation would remove this impression. May I suggest that about this particular matter to which I have referred, you might have a talk with the Maharaja? These personal talks are important and help greatly.

I hope that some arrangements would be made fairly soon to increase the supply of goods to Kashmir and the despatch of goods from Kashmir to India. Also to encourage visitors to go there. Perhaps the next two weeks' activities on the front will help in producing these results.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Interim Government planned drastic land reforms, particularly in tenures. However, the *jagirs* being a reserved subject of the Maharaja, the Government could take no decision about them without his prior sanction, and the Maharaja was not prepared to reframe the existing instruments of social and political controls unless alternatives acceptable to him were found.

5. To S.M. Abdullah¹

New Delhi
21 May 1948

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

I have just received your letter of the 21st May brought by Kachru. I have not met Kachru yet. I shall take up this matter of the State Forces with the States Ministry and with Sardar Patel whom I intend visiting in Mussoorie within three days.

1. J.N. Collection.

This matter as well as many other matters will no doubt continue to give you headaches. But I should not worry too much if I were you and I am sure that all this will straighten itself out.

I wrote to you two or three days ago rather in a hurry. You know that I fully realise that the Maharaja acts very foolishly and has no vision at all. He has made even so many mistakes in the past and in spite of bitter experience he has not learnt enough wisdom. Nevertheless, I think that he has sufficiently realised his present position and will not finally come in your way, if he is tactfully dealt with. I do not think it will be advantageous for you or Kashmir to take any radical step in regard to him at the present moment. As a matter of fact I am told that he is himself rather desirous of going to America to see his son.² Perhaps somewhat later he might do so. When I was in Srinagar I had a long talk with the Maharani, who is far more intelligent of the two. She told me that they fully realised their position and did not wish to come in the way at all. But they did hope that certain norms would be observed and courtesy extended to them. She said further that the Maharaja would accept any advice that I gave him. All that he desired was that he should be given a hearing. I told her that there was no question of discourtesy and we were always prepared to find out what his point of view was. But the obvious course was for him to discuss it with you. I think that many of the inevitable difficulties which exist today will be removed if there is frequent contact between you or Bakshi and the Maharaja. The whole question is one of psychological approach. It is not one of giving up any principle. I shall, of course, help in every way.

I know that the States Ministry is also desirous of helping you, even though you might have got a wrong impression sometimes. They know the realities of the case. But they are sometimes worried about reactions in other States. They have proceeded with extreme rapidity in other States and all the ruling chiefs have been shaken up very much. Therefore, they often think in terms of any particular step having certain reactions elsewhere, including Hyderabad. They do not judge purely from the Kashmir point of view. Nevertheless, they are all out to support you.

When I learn of your difficulties I naturally sympathise with you. But I cannot help comparing them with mine which are in no way less but far greater. They lie in the nature of things and one just has to face them and overcome them. You have overcome so many that there is little doubt that you will overcome others also. The difficulty about the Maharaja is really the least of all. It is a hang over from the past and cannot continue.

Thank you for your telegram about Lady Mountbatten's programme. I have informed Lady Mountbatten by telephone and otherwise. Please do not keep her engaged late in the evening and drop out the cultural drama. Also send her back here on the 29th morning fairly early.

Dr. Wenger³ of the International Red Cross has presented a report to us about conditions in Poonch, Srinagar and Jammu. In Poonch, he says, he was really surprised to find the condition of the civilian population very good. They were fairly well-fed and children even had milk which apparently the Army supplied them. In Srinagar, according to him, conditions were not bad. But in Jammu conditions were very bad so far as the refugees were concerned and there was no adequate arrangement. A curious result followed. So long as the people were in Poonch they were well cared for. When they were evacuated to Jammu they were much worse off. Why then evacuate them to Jammu? It would be far better to leave them where they are.

As regards Jammu something must be done to improve conditions there. Wenger brought some pictures which are very bad to look at. People appear to be starving, including children. I suggest to you that you might permit some of our people, specially doctors, to go to Jammu and help in this work. If you are agreeable our representatives can even take charge of it for the present. We can send doctors, nurses, hospital equipment, and other material immediately or very soon.

Some time back we sent doctors, but they were sent back here. I do not know why this was done, as there is obvious need for doctors in Jammu and Srinagar. We have sufficient equipment and material to send to you. But it would be far better if this was to be under the charge of one of our own doctors. If this is done the cost will also be borne by us and you will be relieved of the burden. I have just been speaking to Dr. Jivaraj Mehta and he told me that he was perfectly prepared to undertake this work on behalf of our health organisation. The sooner steps are taken the better. As you know Lady Mountbatten will be visiting these places soon.

I was sorry to learn from Indu that she had shifted from the Guest House to the Imperial Bank. I wish she had not done so as she will not benefit by her stay at the Bank, where she has no real rest. I should like her to go back to the Guest House or some other convenient place. I wish you would permit us to bear our normal expenses there. That will be in the fitness of things. It is not fair to the State for it to have long-term guests.

I should very much like to come over to Srinagar even for a day sometime in June to have a talk with you. But the Mountbattens are leaving on the 21st June and we are full of engagements. Still there is a possibility of my visiting Srinagar for a day.

3. Otto Wenger, a Swiss doctor who served as a delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross from 1942 to 1949.

Indira writes to me that the Dalmia Airline which goes to Srinagar is very bad. I have heard this from other sources also. Rafi Ahmed told me that it was your desire to have the Dalmia line. Otherwise he certainly would not have chosen it. I am asking him to make some other arrangement if possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
30 May 1948

My dear Gopalaswami,

You are well acquainted with the Kashmir situation. I am not worried much about anything there except the political and economic aspects. People in the valley including Kashmiri Pandits are not behaving very well.² I think they are influenced very greatly by Pakistan propaganda especially by radio. Our propaganda is no good at all. I have been impressing upon the Information Ministry to make fresh arrangements for transmitters to be set up in Srinagar as well as other things.

The Maharaja, I fear, is not capable of rising to any occasion. He is now sitting in Jammu when he should be in Srinagar.³ It is difficult to consult him and even when a telephone call is made from Srinagar, he does not come to the phone. I think that he should be induced to go to Srinagar with the Maharani. I am myself writing to him on this subject. Perhaps you could also write.

I feel that it is very necessary for us to have a first-class representative of the Government of India in Kashmir. But I just cannot think of a suitable person and I am dead against sending a second-rater.

I suggested to you the other day to go to Jammu and Srinagar for a few days, say a week. I wish you would do so. Your presence will be very helpful indeed. Difficult problems are continually arising and the present set-up is not wise enough to deal with them satisfactorily.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Kashmiri Pandits were inventing stories of Hindus being oppressed by Sheikh Abdullah's Government.

3. On 26 October 1947, the Maharaja of Kashmir left Srinagar with his relatives and belongings for Jammu never to return.

7. To the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir¹

New Delhi
30 May 1948

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

I feel that your presence in Srinagar at this juncture will be very helpful. Srinagar is now the centre of our activities and is still, as it has been, the nerve centre of the State. Your presence there would also help in full co-operation between you and Sheikh Abdullah's Government. If you remain in Jammu it is difficult, I suppose, for proper consultation to take place. Urgent decisions have to be taken on military lines as well as others and delay in taking them is harmful. I would earnestly suggest to you, therefore, that you and the Maharani Saheba should go to Srinagar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

8. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
30 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am writing to you late at night and within a few hours I shall be leaving for Ooty. I return on the 3rd evening.

I miss you very greatly here as problems are repeatedly arising which require consultation. It is difficult to do so by letter or telephone. I am glad to know from V.P. Menon that your descent from Mussoorie to Dehra Dun has resulted in an immediate change for the better in your health. I hope this progress will continue and that you will soon be well enough to come here. When the rains start Delhi will be cooler.

1. J.N. Collection.

The Mountbattens will probably visit you during the second week of June. I shall try to accompany them.

Hyderabad is likely to give us more trouble, that is, they will go on creating difficulties in the way of an agreement. I do not at all like Monckton coming to India.² Mountbatten telegraphed to him not to come but he had already fixed up his arrangements. I expect some delaying tactics, but at the same time I rather doubt if the matter can be delayed for long. Our position is a strong one and there are many ways of showing our strength.

The military situation, except for Ladakh, appears to be progressing fairly satisfactory. I hope that within a week we might capture Domel and Muzaffarabad.³ That will be a major gain and it may be followed by our advance to Kohala. In Ladakh we have for the moment lost ground and the raiders are on the doorsteps of Leh.⁴

This has no great military significance and we can recapture all the lost ground. But it is irritating that on the map a huge province may be shown as under the enemy. This province, of course, is very sparsely inhabited. Another unfortunate feature may be the loot of Leh, for Leh is a big and fairly rich centre. We have taken steps to send troops by two routes. I fear, however, that it will take us a month to clear Ladakh of the enemy. The State troops in Ladakh and Skardu had behaved in a most cowardly and disgraceful manner. They had not only run away at the slightest provocation but have handed over our weapons and ammunition to the enemy. Indeed without this ammunition the enemy could hardly have functioned for long.

The Security Council Commission may reach India about the end of June.⁵ It may also be delayed longer.

I am worried about the internal political situation in Kashmir. Owing to lack of supplies and trade and continuous radio and other propaganda from Pakistan, the morale of the civil population is rather low.

Pakistan Radio from Murree carries on a vicious and intensive propaganda and there is nothing to meet it on our side. I regret to say that many of the older generation of Kashmiri Pandits are not behaving well. They are

2. The Nizam of Hyderabad had sent for Walter Monckton, his constitutional adviser, from England. He arrived in Hyderabad on 3 June 1948.
3. Between 20 and 27 May, the Indian troops had established forward positions within miles of Domel and Muzaffarabad, and Pakistan, which till then had helped the raiders covertly, sent in battalions. Its losses were 126 killed and a large number wounded.
4. Leh, the capital of Ladakh, was heavily attacked by the raiders. It was a mountain war fought by the Indian troops in Arctic conditions without relief.
5. The first meeting of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (U.N.C.I.P.) was held in Geneva on 16 June 1948. The Commission discussed procedural matters and dealt with correspondence with both the Governments (Indian and Pakistan) regarding the scope of its work and its arrival in the two countries.

grouching all the time and talking almost as if they were agents of Pakistan. They seem to have convinced themselves that ultimately Pakistan will come in. If so, then why fight Pakistan? All this is largely due to our lack of propaganda approach.

It is urgently necessary that we should install a good transmitter in Srinagar with technical personnel. Further that the broadcasts both from Srinagar and Jammu should be carefully planned so as to appeal to the people and strengthen the present government. Other steps indicated by Azim Husain in his report on Kashmir are also needed. Some of them should be given effect to immediately.

I feel that it is very necessary to have a really first-class man to represent us in Kashmir. No person other than first-class man with knowledge of Kashmir and of both the Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah can fit in. I cannot think of a suitable person and on no account would I send a second-rater. Gopalaswami Ayyangar is obviously the right person. But we cannot spare him for this purpose and I do not think he would care to go. But at any rate he might go there for a week or so and try to help in straightening matters. I am suggesting this to him. If you could also make this suggestion, perhaps he might agree.

The Maharaja continues to remain in Jammu. This is very unfortunate. It creates a bad impression on the people and it comes in the way of consultation between him and Abdullah's government. Urgent decisions have to be taken and these have to be delayed because the Maharaja cannot be reached, or they are taken without consulting the Maharaja and then a complaint follows. Even the long distance telephone does not help, as the Maharaja says that he cannot use it properly. I feel that the Maharaja should be pressed to go to Srinagar which is the centre both of military operations and the government. I suggest that you might write to the Maharaja to shift to Srinagar.

I have written to you on several occasions about my feeling that the administrative apparatus of the Government of India is rapidly deteriorating. This feeling led me to raise the question of Cabinet coordination and a reorganisation of methods of doing government work. This will have to be done fairly soon. But of course it is not a simple matter and will take time, probably two or three months.

The problem is an even bigger one and we shall have to face it fairly soon. We have now had $9\frac{1}{2}$ months of this government. We have had our successes and failures. I am afraid the level of work in the various ministries varies greatly. Some are terribly overworked, others are underworked. Some do their work with a fair measure of efficiency, others are not efficient. It will have to be considered by us, within the next month or so, how far it is desirable to reorganise the government itself and make a fresh allotment of portfolios.

Economic questions are becoming vitally important and our method of dealing with them has not been satisfactory. Some months ago we had a deputation from Bombay industrialists and I remember their stressing in your house that we should have a ministry of social and economic affairs. I told them then that I entirely agreed with their proposition and that we would try to give effect to it fairly soon. We have done nothing since in this matter. I feel that the time has come when such a ministry should be started and Dr. Matthai is the most appropriate man to take charge of it.⁶ In England Stafford Cripps was in charge of such a ministry and it is largely due to his efforts all along the economic field that the U.K. have done fairly well and survived a great crisis. Their production has increased very greatly. If Matthai takes to this new ministry, then other arrangements will follow.⁷

I am writing all this to you so that you may think about it. I do not propose to take any major step till the change in the Governors General.

Delhi is full of rumours of impending trouble⁸ about the middle of June. So is East Punjab and so, I understand, are parts of West Punjab. Where these rumours start from, I do not know, but they seem to be associated with two factors—the possibility of trouble in Hyderabad and the impending departure of Mountbatten. I myself do not think anything much is going to happen, but we should obviously take full precautions.

Owing to your absence naturally much of the work of your ministries has to be done by the secretaries, joint and deputy secretaries and private secretaries. I know that you are taking interest in this work and giving a good deal of time to it. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that many decisions should be made without reference to you. This is unfortunate as the level of work and decision has lowered greatly.

I have had a letter from Mahtab suggesting either Pakvasa or Sri Prakasa for the governorship of Orissa. I think that we should finally decide about Katju going to West Bengal. Possibly Sri Prakasa might do for Orissa.

The problem of appointing a Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca still awaits solution. Pakistan does not agree to Prafulla Ghosh being anything but a Deputy High Commissioner. Over and above this Prafulla babu says that he must continue to be made a member of the Working Committee even if he is appointed to represent us in Dacca. On no account is he prepared

6. Replying on 4 June, Patel said that a sub-committee of the Cabinet would have more weight and authority and would be more effective than a ministry or individual minister in ensuring inter-ministerial coordination and getting better results.
7. Patel doubted whether John Matthai was the right man for that post or would create confidence in industrial or financial circles.
8. There were rumours that there would be a war between India and Pakistan and that Delhi would be the target of aerial bombardment by Pakistan. The influx of Muslims into Delhi on a large scale had given rise to the fear that communal disturbances would shortly break out. The activities of the Razakars in Hyderabad had roused considerable feelings among the Hindus.

to resign from the Working Committee. But I do not see how a deputy or joint high commissioner can remain in the Working Committee. We have, therefore, to think of someone else to go to Dacca.

The question of having a Governor for Madras has also to be considered. I am inclined to think that one of the existing governors might be sent there, say Pakvasa. I am afraid the standard of administration in Madras is woefully low now and the present ministry is incapable of improving it.

As I have told you Liaquat Ali Khan is coming to Delhi on the 5th June. He met Sri Prakasa and said to him that he was not interested in Hyderabad or anything else. But it was impossible for Pakistan to give up Kashmir. Why should Jawaharlal, because he calls himself a Kashmiri, want to stick to Kashmir? He himself (Liaquat Ali) came from East Punjab and U.P. But he had to give them up. If the Kashmir issue was removed then there would be perfect understanding between India and Pakistan for which he was very anxious, and so on and so forth.

Suhrawardy came to see me today and discussed various proposals of his for promoting communal harmony. He has fallen out with the Pakistan leaders more or less completely⁹ and is apparently doing good work in East Bengal.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

9. Suhrawardy was placed under detention on his arrival at Dhaka on 3 June 1948 in furtherance of his peace mission. Nazimuddin, Premier of East Bengal, had in a letter to Suhrawardy contended that the mission was unnecessary and designed to create hostility against Pakistan. There was growing hostility to Suhrawardy, who was declared ineligible for membership of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Karachi. Suhrawardy had been associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the successful peace mission in Calcutta the previous year.

9. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

5 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have pressed Gopalaswami Ayyangar to go to Jammu and Srinagar for two or three days and he has at last agreed to do so. He will go on the 8th, first to Jammu. While it is true that Sheikh Abdullah is not always tactful

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. I, pp. 200-201.

and sometimes says and does things which he should not, my last visit to Kashmir convinced me that he was trying hard to meet the Maharaja more than half way. He has to deal with a very difficult situation, the essence of which is to gain popular goodwill. Whatever happens, the ultimate decision in Kashmir will be greatly influenced by this popular feeling. If the present Kashmir Government cannot succeed in this then it fails utterly. The Maharaja is completely oblivious of this aspect or the international implications of the Kashmir issue. He behaves in a manner which is completely inexplicable to me and which irritates the people. There is at present a vitally urgent problem of arranging for the destitute refugees in Jammu—40,000 or more. Cholera has begun and typhoid is feared. Our Relief and Health Ministry people visited Jammu and came to the conclusion that the Maharaja's stud farm was ideally suited for a relief camp. The horses there could easily be put somewhere else or sent to Srinagar for a few months. The Maharaja refused to permit this even though Amrit Kaur and Lady Mountbatten begged him for it. Meanwhile, children are dying in Jammu streets. You can imagine the public reaction to this.

Again about certain barracks in Srinagar. They were empty and were urgently wanted for our troops. The Maharaja would not agree. He is unapproachable and cannot be reached even by telephone. Meanwhile, urgent situations develop which must be handled with rapidity. What is to be done then?²

Jammu has ceased to have any great importance from the military point of view. Srinagar is the nerve centre for all activities, civil or military. It is essential for the Maharaja to be there and to remain in constant touch with his Government. Otherwise work suffers and things are hung up, and inevitably he is ignored where urgency demands it. The effect on the public of his remaining away from Srinagar is also very bad.

About the army (State) I fear it can never improve if the Maharaja has anything to do with it. It is in a hopeless mess. I wrote to you about the disgraceful behaviour of the State troops in Ladakh etc.³ There are Hindu Dogra troops. They, or their officers, have lost all morale and discipline and any further association with the Maharaja will worsen the position. If any effective State army is to be built up, as it must be, it must be by our officers and men. The matter is too serious for it to be left to the discretion of the Maharaja. We are playing for high stakes and we dare not take risk. This is the opinion of our army men also.

2. The Maharaja complained to Patel on 24 April 1948 that the building which housed his offices and the rest house at Rambagh had been vacated for military occupation by Sheikh Abdullah without consulting him.
3. For example, Brigadier Fakir Singh, a senior officer of the Kashmir State Army, who was sent to Skardu, ran away leaving behind 65,000 rounds of ammunition and a large quantity of mortar, handgrenades and rifles.

I cannot write more now as I have to go.

I hope you are progressing well.

V.P. Menon will accompany Gopalaswami to Jammu and Srinagar, unless the wretched Hyderabad affair comes in the way.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

7

HYDERABAD

1. Threat of Violence in Hyderabad¹

Sir, may I say to begin with that I deeply regret that notice of this adjournment motion has found its way to the press? If I may say so, I entirely agree with the remarks that fell from you that this is a very undesirable practice and I trust that this kind of thing will not occur again.

The motion for adjournment² appears to me inadmissible from a large number of points of view. It is for you to decide. I am not going to deal with those rather legal and technical pleas, but I wish to say this that I think that any discussion on a speech³ like this, that is to say, a speech that has been reported in the public press for us to discuss as speech as well as other connected matters would hardly be in consonance with the dignity of this House, however good or bad that speech may be. Let me, however, say this that this speech, although it is a private speech, nevertheless it comes from the leader of an organisation. I do not know and I cannot say straight off how far the report is correct or not without further enquiry. But presuming that it is basically correct, the speech is perhaps the most amazing and irresponsible utterance that I have ever come across, not only irresponsible, but as has been said in this motion, a direct incitement to violence and murder—and Government have given the most careful thought to it and are giving the most careful thought to the situation, as it is developing, in Hyderabad. They cannot obviously ignore such speeches or the consequences that such speeches might produce. That is as much as I can say before the House now. It is obviously a difficult matter for us to discuss at this stage and I do not think it would yield any satisfactory results. I suppose all in the House are agreed that it does not require discussion—that the speech as reported, if it is true, is a most objectionable thing. Nobody has two opinions about it. The questions that arise are not on the speech really, but about other matters—what policy should be adopted?, what should be done about it?, and other questions. Normally speaking, such questions cannot be easily discussed on the floor of this House. Some particular policy—broad

1. Speech on an adjournment motion moved by Shibbanlal Saksena, a Congress member, in the Legislative Assembly, 9 April 1948. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates*, Vol. V, 1948, pp. 3598-3599.
2. Shibbanlal Saksena sought an adjournment of the House to discuss the possibility of a breach of peace in the Indian Union as a result of the recent provocative speech made by Kasim Razvi.
3. At a mass rally in Hyderabad on 31 March 1948, Kasim Razvi called upon the Muslims of Hyderabad not to sheathe their swords until Islamic supremacy had been achieved. He exhorted them to march forward with the Koran in one hand and the sword on the other "to hound out the enemy". He declared that "the forty-five million Muslims in the Indian Union would be our fifth columnists in any showdown."

policy—might be discussed, but such matters are normally not discussed at all when the Government is engaged not exactly in negotiations,⁴ but in dealing with that particular matter initially. It would undoubtedly create difficulties if they were to have such discussion. So, while I appreciate—and not only I appreciate, but the Government appreciates—the apprehension and, if I may say so, the anger of the House that such speeches should be delivered, and the Government entirely associates itself with it, still I would beg of the House and of you, Sir, to consider that any discussion of this issue at this moment would not help the House or the Government or go in any way towards meeting the problems that have arisen.⁵

4. Negotiations had been continuing for almost ten months without any worthwhile outcome. At the meeting in Delhi on 8 April 1948 between Walter Monckton, Nehru and Mountbatten the issues discussed were : (i) Kasim Razvi's provocative speeches, (ii) flow of goods from Union territories to Hyderabad, and (iii) introduction of responsible government in the State. Monckton was to recommend to the Nizam, on his return to Hyderabad, that he should take drastic action against Razvi and move towards responsible government.
5. After some discussion the motion was withdrawn by the mover.

2. To Mir Laik Ali¹

New Delhi
10th April 1948

Dear Mr. Laik Ali,

I have received your letter of April 5th.² I have handed it over to our Ministry of States which will deal with it in due course.

Among other things you have written about the activities of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and their volunteer body, the Razakars.³ I wish to say nothing at this stage about this or any other matter. But you have no doubt seen the

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his reply to Nehru's letter to him, dated 26 March, Laik Ali had refuted the allegations of breach of the Standstill Agreement, made certain counter charges against the Government of India and proposed arbitration of the disputed points between India and Hyderabad.
3. The Razakars were the private army of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen. They stood for the perpetuation of the feudal rule of the Asaf Jahi dynasty and pledged to "maintain the supremacy of the Muslim power in the Deccan." They had four representatives in the Nizam's Cabinet.

reports of speeches delivered by Mr. Kasim Razvi,⁴ president of the Ittehad, in particular two speeches of his, one delivered on the 31st March⁵ and the other on the 6th March.⁶ I do not know how far these speeches represent the views of the Hyderabad Government which is supposed to consist of prominent members of the Ittehad. You will appreciate, however, that it is difficult for us to deal with any government which encourages or permits such speeches and activities which are a negation of decent and civilized behaviour.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. A law graduate of Aligarh Muslim University and a small town lawyer; became president of Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen in 1946; arrested in the wake of police action in September 1948 and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1950.
5. See *ante*, p. 211, fn. 3.
6. Razvi had declared on 6 March 1948 that "Hyderabad will neither accede to the Indian Union nor have responsible government" and threatened that Muslims would retaliate in case of interference.

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a visit tonight from Nawab Ismail Khan² and the Nawab of Chhatari. They were very much perturbed about developments in Hyderabad and asked me for advice as to what they should do. Sarojini Naidu has suggested to them to go to Hyderabad and tell the Nizam how much his policy and specially the activities of the Razakars were injuring the Muslims of India

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, p. 206.
2. Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan (1884-1958); prominent leader of Muslim League in U.P.; elected to Central Assembly, 1923 and 1926, and to U.P. Assembly, 1937; member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1947-48; Member of Parliament, 1950-52.

as well as the Nizam himself.³ They agreed wholly with the condemnation of the Razakars and the Ittehad. Chhatari said that being an ex-premier it would not be appropriate for him to go. Nawab Ismail said that he was prepared to go if I advised him to do so. But as Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University specially his visit might be misunderstood and do injury to the university. Besides, he rather doubted if he could even reach the Nizam or be able to see him privately. I told him that on the whole I did not favour his going as this was bound to be misunderstood. Ultimately they said that they would await developments and if he was advised to go a few days later he would do so. Chhatari said that he would try to see Monckton when the latter comes here next.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

3. The Indian Muslims had dissociated themselves from the communal aims of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and had disclaimed affinity with it. The attitude of prominent Indian Muslims, including Mohamed Ismail of Madras, who was the president of the Muslim League in India, was that the Indian Union must take strong action in the situation, that Razvi should be brought to trial and that a democratic government should be established in Hyderabad State.

4. Autocracy in Hyderabad¹

We do not want to impose our will on any State and it is our earnest desire to avoid conflicts and quarrels; hence our emphasis on plebiscite not only in Hyderabad, but also in Kashmir and other States. We therefore concluded the Standstill Agreement with Hyderabad last year with the hope that in the course of the year, the people's desires would be fulfilled.² But no sooner the ink in which the Agreement was signed was dry, the Hyderabad Government violated the agreement. Hyderabad is the only State where so far there has been no change in the nature of the government.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Cuttack, 13 April 1948. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 April 1948.
2. The existing Standstill Agreement signed on 29 November 1947 and intended to preserve the *status quo* for one year, after which a permanent agreement might be negotiated, was not being respected by the Hyderabad State.

In Hyderabad, people in high positions want autocracy to continue.³ But this is impossible in the present-day world when democracy is the order of the day. We have made it amply clear that we shall abide by the people's will, even if it goes against us. Hyderabad at present is marred by conflicts. The Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and its volunteers are committing violence on the people, trying to overawe and coerce them with bullets. This has undoubtedly created a serious problem and we are looking into it very carefully. The present state of affairs definitely cannot be allowed to go on.

3. Laik Ali had said that the Hyderabad Government was prepared for a war if accession was insisted upon.

5. To O.P. Ramaswami Reddiar¹

New Delhi
16 April 1948

My dear Mr. Reddiar,

I received your letter about Hyderabad some time ago.² Sardar Patel has already replied to you on this subject.

I am surprised that you should imagine for an instant that we are ignoring the Hyderabad situation or not paying enough attention to it. We realise, perhaps even more than you do, the seriousness of the situation there and we have given more thought to it than to any other problem. But governments have to function in a particular way and cannot appear before the public in an excited condition. That might very well increase panic and weaken the government. We are determined to do our utmost in this matter. But we have to look at all the consequences of any act of ours and cannot rush in without thinking of all these consequences. You do us a grave injustice by imagining that we are passive and that we ignore the realities of the situation in Hyderabad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

J.N. Collection.

The Government of Madras asked for military assistance in border areas to ward off the incursions of the Razakars and Hyderabad troops.

6. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
16th April 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

You know that certain talks have been going on with the representatives of the Hyderabad Government.² The situation in Hyderabad has been a steadily deteriorating one and there is a great deal of apprehension in the public mind as to what might happen there. I trust that our talks will result in improving the situation. So far as we are concerned, we are anxious to avoid having to take any steps which will lead to conflict. This conflict will not only be bad in itself but is likely to have very undesirable consequences all over India.

While this is our general attitude in regard to Hyderabad as well as other problems, it is obvious that in our military dispositions we should be prepared for any eventuality. Indeed such a preparation might actually help in preventing any deterioration of the situation. Much of the trouble has occurred on the borders of Hyderabad State and there have been frequent raids into Indian territory from Hyderabad.³ These raids injure citizens of India and fill them with apprehension. Apart from this it is not right for us to allow conditions to persist which endanger the lives and property of our citizens. We have necessarily therefore to be in a position to give full protection to our citizens on the border and to be prepared for any emergency that might arise.

I wish to avoid, as you must also do, any action on our part which might be construed as indicating aggression on Hyderabad State. Nevertheless, we have to be prepared to protect our people.

I understand that the minimum force considered necessary to deal with any such emergency that might arise should consist of two infantry brigades and an armoured brigade with the Headquarters Armoured Division. One infantry brigade is understood to be already in Poona and another is in

1. J.N. Collection.

2. During the three days' discussion from 16 April between Nehru, Mountbatten, Walter Monckton and V.P. Menon a four-point programme subject to Nizam's agreement was drawn up : (i) ban on Razakars, (ii) release of imprisoned State Congress leaders, (iii) reconstruction of the existing Government to make it representative of all communities, and (iv) formation of a constituent assembly by the end of the year and early introduction of responsible government.

3. In fact, the Government of Bombay had asked for military help to defend the villages on the border of Hyderabad State. The Razakars had gone into a village in Bijapur and another in Sholapur district, killed a number of inhabitants and looted property. With the entrenched camps on both sides there was danger of conflict.

Bangalore. The main part of the force, however, is the armoured brigade, and it is necessary that this should be for use if an emergency arises. As I have said above, I am not suggesting that the emergency has arisen, but we cannot take risks with the lives and interests of our people. Therefore, it is desirable that the armoured brigade should be moved to some place which is suitable for this purpose. This movement should start soon but it need not be done in a hurried manner as any indication of precipitate action might be misunderstood and might bring about a crisis which the move is intended to avoid. The move should, therefore, be arranged quietly and without any precipitateness. Nevertheless, it should begin and orders to that effect might be issued. I would be grateful if you will kindly keep me in touch with the progress of the move of the armoured brigade.

I am suggesting this to you after fully considering the all-India situation. I feel that the stationing of our armoured brigade in the southern part of India is desirable from any point of view. It is indeed a natural movement even apart from any particular emergency which might arise in Hyderabad.

I might add that Sardar Patel entirely agrees with what I have written. I shall keep you in touch with developments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Policy on Hyderabad¹

I would like to assure the A.I.C.C. that the Government of India are fully alive to the seriousness of the situation developing in Hyderabad State.² The Dominion Government will not hesitate to take appropriate action when it deems it necessary and consistent with its own dignity and status. At the same time, the Government will not be hustled into any course of action

1. Speech at a secret session of the A.I.C.C., Bombay, 26 April 1948. From *The Hindu*, 27 April 1948.
2. The four-point formula agreed upon on 19 April by the representatives of the Hyderabad Government and the Union Government was rejected by the Nizam. On 22 April the Nizam rejected the proposal for responsible government as emanating from an outside authority and likely to introduce 'poison' into Hyderabad. He hoped, however, to associate representatives of all important sections with his government. In an address to the Legislative Council of Hyderabad, he said that he would maintain an honourable position and so there would be no accession. Meanwhile, there was an alarming increase in border incidents caused by the Razakars.

which might militate against the prestige of the Government. In any step that the Government may have to take in dealing with the Hyderabad situation, it will be guided solely by consideration for the welfare and interests of the people of the State.

I have given the A.I.C.C. members a detailed idea of the steps that have already been taken and are being contemplated by the Provincial Governments concerned to safeguard the lives and properties of the citizens of the Indian Dominion. The Government of India are acting in close conjunction with the Provincial Governments on this grave issue.

The Provincial Governments are being fully posted from day to day with the developments that are occurring near the borders. The Central Government are keenly watching the situation. According to the information reaching us from the observers, the situation is fraught with serious possibilities necessitating a policy of circumspection in whatever action that might ultimately have to be taken. I agree with Sardar Patel that nothing short of a satisfactory and honourable solution would be acceptable to the Government of India. There need be no apprehension that the Government of India will give away any of India's basic interests on this issue.

I appeal to the members of the A.I.C.C. to have patience and to maintain their trust in the Government in the matter. You must bear with the Government till they have obtained an acceptable solution of this tangle.

If the Nizam's Government or the Razakars take any aggressive action, the Government of India will certainly take steps to safeguard the interests of the people concerned.

I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by organising a fact-finding committee³ of the Premiers of the bordering States and the A.I.C.C. members because all facts regarding Hyderabad are known to the Government.

I also think that the civil population in the border areas should come forward to enlist themselves as home guards to help in safeguarding the border.

3. J.B. Kripalani had proposed that a fact-finding committee consisting of the Premiers of Bombay, Central Provinces and Madras and two members of the A.I.C.C. be formed to study the situation in Hyderabad and report to the Congress President.

8. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi
3 May 1948

My dear Kher,

You know that the situation vis-a-vis Hyderabad is a grave one.² I hope it may be possible for us to avoid taking any major steps but it is clear to me that we should be prepared for all contingencies and we are taking steps to that end. It is possible that this mere preparation for any necessary action may have a sobering effect. It is obvious that the consequences of any action that we may take may well be far-reaching.

Meanwhile, I am distressed to find that outside India there is a widespread opinion that we have treated Hyderabad unfairly.³ Even people who normally support us criticise us on this issue. The main burden of criticism is our denial of transport facilities for Hyderabad goods which apparently have piled up in Bombay customs and elsewhere and heavy demurrage charges are being incurred.

It is clear that we cannot allow any arms, ammunition or military equipment to go through. This includes transport vehicles like jeeps and lorries. What else has been stopped I do not exactly know but I am told that machinery which has nothing to do with arms manufacture and which is necessary for agricultural operations, for the manufacture of asbestos sheets for roofing, etc. has also been stopped. Some time back we suggested to your Government that these other goods, that is those unconnected with army requirements, might be allowed to go through. I should like to know how matters stand.⁴ Could you kindly enquire?

I am anxious that our hands should be as clean as possible in our dealings with Hyderabad and that we should not give any valid excuse to our enemies and opponents.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Strong armed police reinforcements had arrived in Sholapur district of Bombay Province to give protection to the people of 50 villages lying along the 200-mile-long border of Hyderabad State, where recurring incidents were causing increasing tension.

3. Foreign newspapers alleged that India was trying "to deprive Hyderabad of its sovereignty most wickedly."

4. Though no orders were issued by the Government for an economic blockade of Hyderabad, the merchants themselves had decided not to send any goods to Hyderabad because of the uncertain political situation there.

9. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
3rd May 1948

My dear Balkrishan,
Your letter of the 29th April.

The Hyderabad situation has been dealt with by us as effectively as possible and we are taking all necessary measures. I do not quite understand what else is expected of us.

As for Dr. Ambedkar, I have been in correspondence with him and he has issued a statement which appears in today's papers.² I entirely agree with you that what he is reported to have said was bad. In view of his latest statement it would be better to let matters stand where they are.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See *post*, pp. 377-379.

10. To Dahyabhai Patel¹

New Delhi
5 May 1948

My dear Dahyabhai,²

I am surprised to receive your letter of the 30th April in which you say that Asoka Mehta said something about supply of arms to the people of Hyderabad after consulting me.³ Some months ago Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali⁴ did say to me that she and her colleagues would like to send arms to the people of Hyderabad. I told her that this was a wrong and futile policy to adopt.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (1905-1973); son of Vallabhbhai Patel; Mayor of Bombay, 1954-55; member, Rajya Sabha; and leader of the Swatantra Party, 1958-70.
3. The Socialist Party claimed the right of self-defence for the villages of Hyderabad State on the border of the Indian Union. Training camps were set up where young men from Hyderabad could equip themselves for such work as they wanted to do inside Hyderabad.
4. Aruna Asaf Ali was the chairman of the Hyderabad struggle committee of the Socialist Party.

11. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter of 14 May about the 200 R.A.F. craftsmen going to Pakistan.² We are enquiring into this matter. It is possible that most of these persons were merely passing through Pakistan. I understand from Elmhirst³ that there was a big routine flight of the R.A.F. towards Singapore. But this does not appear to be sufficient explanation and further enquiries are being made.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, pp. 479-480.
2. Two hundred R.A.F. technicians who had volunteered for two years service with the Pakistan Air Force had arrived in Karachi on 16 May 1948.
3. Air Marshal T.W. Elmhirst.

12. To F.R.R. Bucher¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Roy,

Your letter of the 22nd May.² I am inclined to think that the proposal you make is a good one from various points of view. I shall discuss it with the Minister for States, whom I am going to see in a day or two. The only difficulty appears to be that certain developments are taking place in Hyderabad which may lead to unfortunate consequences.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S. I have addressed you in a personal way. I think we know each other sufficiently to avoid too many formalities.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. General Bucher had suggested that a senior army officer be India's Agent-General in Hyderabad. This would enable "us to have a balanced military opinion on events within the State, and on the dispositions of the States troops".

13. Telegram to B.G. Kher¹

I telegraphed to you yesterday about sending salt to Hyderabad. We have given repeated assurances that under no circumstances will we stop any food or medicine from going to Hyderabad. The stoppage of salt therefore is a breach of our assurances and creates unfavourable foreign reactions. In Hyderabad itself common people are suffering. Our position is that only arms, ammunition, transport vehicles and like articles which may be used for war-like purposes should be stopped. In particular salt, food, medicine, chlorine for purifying water should be given every facility of being sent to Hyderabad. This is especially necessary because of grave developments which may lead us to action.

I am interested to find out how orders stopping salt etc. were issued without reference to us.²

1. New Delhi, 24 May 1948. File No. 34/2/47-Poll., p. 127, M.H.A.; also available in J.N. Collection.
2. An official announcement said the delay in transport of salt to Hyderabad was due to transport difficulties, aggravated by disruption in train services, caused by Razakars. The Government had, however, arranged for extra wagons and supply had been restored.

14. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
27 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Jengar communicated to me your message about Hyderabad.² As you perhaps know, I have not been in intimate or detailed touch with developments. V.P. Menon has carried on long talks and gone into these details. He informed me from time to time about the lurid picture of what was happening. I thought that you were being kept fully informed.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 7, p. 210.
2. Patel was against communal reservations in the Hyderabad legislature as these would be "in the nature of a concession to the militant minority."

I confess I do not like the inclusion of the communal principle in the Hyderabad legislature or the fixation of the percentages at 60 : 40 (Muslims).³ But I understand that the principle was more or less accepted some time back in view of the special circumstances and the fact that thus far Hyderabad has been a 100 per cent Muslim State. That acceptance was for a fixed period only.

The question then arises as to what the percentage should be. Naturally, the lower it is the better. Personally I attach far more importance to a joint electorate. If this is agreed to, as it must be, then a slight variation in percentage need not matter so much.

The whole question has necessarily to be viewed in the larger context. I had a long conference with the army commander about Kashmir. The situation is not so good as we had hoped and hard fighting is going on. Our air resources have been severely tried and we have practically no reserves left. The demand is for more and more troops. Undoubtedly with more troops we could clear up this place this summer. But we just cannot spare them so long as there is danger of warlike developments in Hyderabad with other consequences in other parts of the country.

It is in this context that we have to see the Hyderabad picture. I feel that it would be of tremendous advantage to us if we could satisfactorily settle with Hyderabad and make it innocuous by bringing it effectively under our control. The rest will follow.

I understand that the Nizam has sent for Mirza Ismail. He has also summoned Monckton.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. At a conference on 26 May, attended by Mountbatten, Nehru, V.P. Menon and Laik Ali, it was agreed that a responsible government should be introduced in Hyderabad with the Hindu-Muslim ratio of 60:40 in the legislature. The same ratio should also be applied in respect of the Constituent Assembly.

15. Telegram to the Nizam of Hyderabad¹

I greatly appreciate your invitation to visit Hyderabad. As I told your Prime Minister, my many preoccupations make it practically impossible for me

1. New Delhi, 30 May 1948. J.N. Collection.

to leave New Delhi. However, if the negotiations² now in progress between the Government of India and Your Exalted Highness's Government result in the certainty of a mutually satisfactory settlement, I shall be happy to give priority to a visit to your capital over other matters.

2. The Hyderabad delegation arrived in Delhi on 22 May 1948 and after discussions with the States Ministry left for Hyderabad on 26 May. Laik Ali accepted the principle of overriding legislation by the Government of India and the proposed strength of the Hyderabad Army although he denied it later. It was also suggested that the question of the final accession of Hyderabad should be decided by means of a plebiscite. It was made clear that some interim arrangement would have to be arrived at for the period until the result of the plebiscite was known.

16. The Inevitability of Accession¹

We have made it perfectly clear to Hyderabad that there will have to be a solution to this problem and that ultimately there must be accession. There is no other way, and it is not possible for Hyderabad to walk out of the Indian Union. Responsible government is inevitable because in the modern world we cannot allow a feudal government as in Hyderabad to continue.

Free India, which has already overcome difficulties such as had seldom faced any Government, can now look forward with confidence to the future.

Now that political freedom has been achieved the fundamental task before the country is the attainment of economic freedom and freedom from want. The wealth of the country, which can only be increased by maximizing production, has to be developed in order that workers in the factory and in the field might reap the full benefit of political freedom.

We have gone through terrible massacres in the north. I take the full responsibility for those happenings because those misdeeds were committed by our own brethren, and not by our opponents. I advise you all to follow Mahatma Gandhi's teachings and never give way to hysterical fears. It was through our great culture, religion and art that India's glory spread far and wide in the past, and it is in those fields that we have to vindicate our freedom.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Uthagamandalam, 2 June 1948. From *The Hindu*, 3 June 1948.

We have had many troubles since independence; the State of Hyderabad has become a nuisance of late. There is conflict going on in Kashmir and there are also arguments and debates about linguistic provinces. The Indian States were propped up by an external agency and when that external agency went, the State system also disappeared. In every State in India except in Hyderabad some responsible government is developing. My reading of history has convinced me that it is impossible for Hyderabad to continue in this manner when the whole of India is going through revolutionary changes. Both economically and geographically, Hyderabad is so situated that it cannot remain out of India.

Our solution for this is to make Hyderabad accede to the Indian Union in equal partnership in a common undertaking and make it an integral part of the Union. For various reasons this was not accepted by Hyderabad. It is impossible for a feudal State like Hyderabad to continue as such for long in modern India. Some people are under the impression that the Government of India is pursuing a weak policy towards Hyderabad while others say that we are using the big stick. We are doing neither. What we are actually doing is dealing with the problem with gentleness and firmness. If gentleness is not effective, then we must be firm. We do not wish to make Hyderabad accede by coercion. We may be compelled to do it if the situation becomes such as to imperil security.

I appreciate the interest taken by the people of Madras in the Hyderabad situation, but I request you all to be calm and not get over-excited about the matter. When the British Army and police were against the Congress, you were not afraid. So why should you be afraid now?

The Madras Regiment is doing a good job in Kashmir. They are fighting in Kashmir under very adverse circumstances. There is no question of making Kashmir a communal issue, though Pakistan is trying to present it as one. It was on the invitation of Muslims that we went there far more than on the invitation of the Maharaja. India has always taken the view that the Kashmir question should be settled by a plebiscite after normal conditions are restored. The campaign to drive out the raiders from Kashmir is progressing satisfactorily and will soon end successfully.

The Congress is wedded to the principle of linguistic provinces. But I do not approve of the manner in which this issue is being forced upon us when there are far more serious problems requiring our immediate attention. I do not wish our unity to be disrupted by this separatist tendency being given priority over other pressing problems. If we are not careful, this fissiparous and separatist tendency will harm us. We shall not do anything now which strikes at this unity.

17. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
6 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I sent you a hastily scribbled note yesterday. I should now like to deal with some of the problems you have touched upon in your letter of the 4th June.

2. I quite appreciate what you say about communal reservations. Monckton and Laik Ali are coming here again. But I confess that I do not expect anything very satisfactory from their visit.² I have been only distantly and occasionally connected with these talks and Mountbatten and V.P. Menon have been chiefly concerned. I have, however, kept in general touch with developments.

3. Generally speaking, the basic problem is for us to gain definite and positive control over the Hyderabad situation, that is to say that we control the military situation internally in Hyderabad so that any action against us becomes quite impossible. Once this is done the crisis is passed. We may have other difficulties, but they can be resolved by other means. The whole Governmental-Ittehad-Razakar situation will crack up if once this change-over comes and the normal forces within the State will begin to function. This is the fundamental issue and all others are relatively secondary. It is well to bear the primary issue in mind lest this might be endangered by secondary issues. It is obvious that it is to our great advantage to settle this primary issue by peaceful methods. The consequences of any other method being applied are full of danger and uncertainty. Our experience in Kashmir has shown us that it is easier to begin military operations than to end them. I think on the whole our army in Kashmir, officers and men, have not done badly. I have gone fairly deeply into this question and balanced the enormous difficulties they have had to face. They have erred and made mistakes; they have also shown sometimes an unnecessary caution. Nevertheless, on the whole they have done well. I do not think most people realise the tremendous difficulties of the undertaking. At the present moment there is little doubt

1. J. N. Collection.

2. The Hyderabad delegation came to Delhi again on 6 June. Walter Monckton produced revised proposals which did not, however, provide a basis on which a settlement could be reached. The delegation was told that unless the Hyderabad Government treated the questions of accession and responsible government in a realistic way there was no possibility of any agreement being reached. On that day and the following two days no progress was made.

that the Pakistan Army, or a part of it, is functioning against us in Kashmir territory. They have a tremendous geographical advantage over us. Kashmir is a very big area and possesses most difficult terrain from the point of view of military operations. Also the climate in winter is a very hard one and large areas like the Ladakh Valley are completely unapproachable in winter. The first lesson that a military commander is taught is that of concentration. Nothing is more dangerous in war than a dispersal of forces. This concentration leads to large areas being left unguarded, unless the forces we use are tremendous in numbers. Even so it is practically impossible to guard every mountain valley or cave. We fight to win and to break the enemy. They fight to harass and annoy and cause us injury. The latter method does not need concentration. In any event we have to think of our army as it is and not as it might be. We have, in technical matters, to take advantage of our military experts. Our policy, specially when it involves military operations or the possibility of them, cannot ignore the hard facts of the situation, as judged by the military experts. I have little doubt that our officers are exceedingly anxious to produce results in Kashmir. Their own reputation depends upon that. If results are not so quick in coming as we would like, then we cannot bring them about by expressing our dissatisfaction of the army, which can only do what it is capable of doing and no more. The fight that is going on near Domel-Muzaffarabad is of great significance and that is the reason why Pakistan has thrown its forces and some armour into it. Our victory there will no doubt make a great difference to our campaign. Because of this Pakistan will try its utmost to prevent that victory.

4. To come back to Hyderabad. We have to view military action from the point of view of our present capacity as well as from the other consequences flowing from it. These consequences may well be far-reaching to various parts of India as well as Pakistan. It is possible of course that swift action may obviate some of these consequences. But as I have said above, any warlike operation tends to prolong itself and goes on and on and one should not ignore this possibility. There is the question of action in Hyderabad somewhat weakening our position in Kashmir at a moment when weakness there may spoil our campaign. The possible coming of the U.N. Kashmir Commission is also a factor to be borne in mind.

5. I arrived at the conclusion therefore that military action should only be indulged in Hyderabad when the Hyderabad Government or their Razakars, etc., make it impossible for us to desist from it. Of course, in such circumstances we have to take action because inaction may produce worse results. Thus for the present, owing to our military commitments, strain on our resources, internal position, and external reactions, it is unsafe to indulge in a military operation on a big scale unless there is obvious provoca-

tion for it which prevents us from delaying it. It will be to our advantage to take such military action, if necessary, some time later, say about two months.

6. I am referring, of course, to a big scale military operation and not to minor activities. In any event our army near the borders of Hyderabad should function effectively and be a constant reminder of the possibility of military action where necessary small action may be taken to protect our borders or island territories.

7. Keeping this in view we have to shape our policy accordingly. Any satisfactory settlement would be of great advantage to us in our overall position and more specially in Kashmir. There should, of course, be no unsatisfactory settlement which is bound to injure us. The primary test of a satisfactory settlement is, as I have said above, the breaking up of the morale and the possibility of mischief of those elements in Hyderabad State who have given us so much trouble.

In regard to other matters I would not be uncompromising at this stage. But I would certainly dislike to limit the powers of the constituent assembly that may come into being. If there is no satisfactory settlement and at the same time no special provocation, I would rather allow matters to remain where they are for another two months or so, except for the fact that our pressure should be increased progressively all round Hyderabad. If there is any provocation of a major kind we shall be justified in taking further action also.

8. I have written to you about Kashmir already. I found there that quite a good effort in the shape of propaganda had been made by the Kashmir Government. They have published attractive pamphlets and have very effective popular plays about the struggle which are performed in large numbers of urban and rural areas. Their difficulty is lack of paper and lack of broadcasting equipment. The Pakistan radio repeats the most infernal lies from day to day and it is not possible to counteract this by leaflets etc. The only way to check it is to do our own broadcasting. Therefore the urgency of this.

9. Propaganda in Kashmir must obviously take into consideration the psychology of the Kashmir people, both Muslim and non-Muslim. It must be largely addressed to large masses of people who can make a difference this way or that way. I am told that the Kashmiri broadcasting from A.I.R. is rather colourless and does not appeal to the listeners in Kashmir. It seems necessary to associate a competent Kashmiri to give the background to our broadcasts.

10. My study of the Kashmir situation has led me to believe that the Maharaja cannot play. He just does not know how to. When there is an obvious possibility of his losing everything, he still wants to hold on to relatively simple things, not realising that this has a bad effect both internally among the people as well as on external observers. His mere absence from Srinagar is bitterly resented because everybody of any consequence functions from Srinagar now. Even the military situation requires this.

11. This leads me to the State Forces which have become not only not helpful but a tremendous nuisance. By their passivity and sheer funk, they have done injury to our cause. The only way to pull them up is for the Indian Army to take complete control over these forces. This of course will not mean that the State army will lose its identity or will become absorbed in the Indian Army. The State army will be kept distinct and will certainly stay on in Kashmir even when our troops decide to withdraw. Our own officers feel this strongly and they cannot make full use of existing State troops in present circumstances. It has thus become an urgent necessity from the point of view of military operations as well as the possibility of a plebiscite that quick action be taken in such matters. It is equally important that the Maharaja should live in Srinagar for the greater part of the summer months, as Srinagar is the place now where important decisions have to be taken both by civil authorities and our military commanders. Unless he lives in Srinagar he cannot keep in touch. From some other points of view too it is not desirable for him to live long in Jammu during summer. This would be entirely opposed to the old policy when the Maharaja spent the whole summer in Srinagar.

12. It is manifest that our administrative set-up all over India is in a bad condition. Instead of recovering from the bad effects of war, we have gone further down and partition and its consequences given us a terrible shake-up. Corruption has risen to monstrous proportions. At the present moment the highlights in corruption are connected with cloth smuggling. I have eye-witness accounts of responsible persons about the vast quantity of cloth that is being smuggled daily in railway trains from Ahmedabad to North India and then part of it to Pakistan. A regular train has been organised chiefly run by Punjab refugees and aided in many cases by the millowners or the traders. Every train is full of this cloth and railway officials from Ahmedabad upwards are so heavily bribed, because the profits are great, that it is difficult to check this business by any normal method. There is intense dissatisfaction and criticism of Government about this matter as well as others.

13. I have definite data about the corruption in four ministries : Commerce, Industries and Supply, Works, Mines and Power, and Railways,

and enquiries are demanded. This matter has been referred to the Cabinet and has perturbed us greatly. We are going to consider it again so as to devise some means of checking this evil which is eating into us.

14. Our troubles may be due to lack of system or policy, apart from individuals. The fact is that not only is there lack of coordination between different departments but also decisions taken are not given effect to and are hung up inordinately. It is difficult to catch the culprit for some suitable excuse is always forthcoming. I am shocked at the slowness of our work and the delays that continually occur. I felt therefore and feel still that it is necessary to overhaul this entire system. How this should be done is a matter for careful consideration. Obviously the whole Cabinet cannot sit down to consider details right at the beginning. Someone or some committee has to go deeply into this question and compare it with governmental organisations elsewhere, chiefly in England. That person or persons would have to produce some suggestions which would then be considered by the Cabinet as a whole. We already have some information about the British system by which they have succeeded in recent years in expediting and coordinating their work. We are getting more information. The British Government has shown substantial results in dealing with this matter.

15. There is no question of individual ministers being interfered with or having lesser responsibility for their decisions. Coordination and ministerial responsibility do not and should not conflict at any stage. We really have not got out of the council form of government and have not yet fully adopted the Cabinet system which prevails in England and elsewhere. Personally I believe in the fullest initiative being left not only to the individual minister but even to others subordinate to him. Too many checks come in the way of effective action. But uncoordinated functioning leads not only to greater delay but to contrary policies being pursued which neutralise each other. The Cabinet is the final coordinating authority. But modern cabinets are overburdened with work and hence in most countries devices to lessen this burden have been introduced.

16. For the present, in accordance with your wishes, we are not proceeding with the formation of a Cabinet Coordination Committee which used to exist previously. But some immediate step has to be taken to go into the whole question of governmental and departmental work so as to get rid of red tape and delays. Some of our existing rules are quite archaic and should have no place in any modern system. It is necessary therefore for this matter to be enquired into and then the results of this enquiry with suggestions will have to be considered fully by Cabinet. The matter is likely to take some weeks at least. Unless this is done we cannot come to grips

with anything. It was for this purpose that Cabinet asked Gopalaswami Ayyangar to enquire into these matters and make suggestions. This was to be a very brief preliminary enquiry so that Cabinet might discuss the approach to the question and then lay down how the fuller enquiry should be carried out.

17. We have many important preoccupations, but the fundamental and basic problem still continues to be the economic problem. This may well break us if we cannot deal with it satisfactorily. We have at present no method of dealing with it properly. Our effort to have a Cabinet committee on the subject has been a complete failure. It is no one's responsibility to look on the broad economic picture and to suggest ways and means of tackling our economic problems as a whole. This matter was emphasised by a deputation of industrialists some months ago and at that time I expressed my general agreement with them and promised that action will be taken later. As a matter of fact Matthai was even mentioned by these people at the time. I believe in most countries it has been considered essential to have a ministry on economic affairs. This does not interfere with the other ministries but views economic problems as a whole and places them before the Cabinet, keeping in close touch with certain ministries which may be affected. England undoubtedly has been saved by such a step. Stafford Cripps was the minister for economic affairs. He did not come into conflict with the Chancellor of the Exchequer who was in a sense a senior minister. Indeed at a later stage Stafford Cripps was himself promoted to the Exchequer on Dalton's resignation. There is no question of subordination of any minister to another.

18. We are likely to have, indeed we have announced it, a planning commission soon.³ If we have this commission it becomes inevitable for some kind of a ministry of economic affairs being created, whatever name we might give it.

19. As for Dr. Matthai, I agree with you that there has not been great success in the handling of the railway and transport problems. It is difficult for me to say whose fault this is, because conditions have been very bad. But for a ministry of social and economic welfare I should imagine that he is peculiarly suited. He is a man of the highest integrity and of very great ability. He is an economist of high standing as well as an industrialist. He has functioned in government services and has thus a background which a pure industrialist does not possess. His reputation is very high in the

3. Following the recommendation of the Congress Working Committee made on 19 January 1950, the Government announced on 28 February 1950 the establishment of a Planning Commission.

country and abroad. It is possible that some people in industrial or financial circles may not like his appointment. But I feel sure a great majority of them will approve of it and indeed, as I have mentioned this above, the industrialists deputation actually mentioned his name when they came to your house some months ago. The public generally would, I feel sure, approve of him. However, this question of having a separate ministry for this purpose is not being raised now. We shall have to take it up next month if you return.

20. I have been consulting various people, officials and non-officials, about the Delhi situation. I do not think any major happening will take place here. But conditions are definitely bad. Almost everyone agrees with this analysis. They are bad because of many factors, chiefly the refugees. But they are essentially bad because the local administration does not function as it should. There are too many conflicting elements in it which neutralise each other. There are also elements which obviously sympathise with anti-social forces. I think that in any event this administration has become very stale. It is not a popular administration now at any rate and criticism is widespread. Even in the police force conflicts are becoming marked as between Punjabis and Frontier men. I do feel that a radical overhaul of the Delhi Administration has become necessary.

21. About a Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca, Rajaji in consultation with Bidhan Roy has suggested Surendra Mohan Ghosh's name. He does not seem to me an ideal choice but as Rajaji and Bidhan want him and he agrees, then there is little more to be said about it.

22. You must have noticed the extremely objectionable speeches that Master Tara Singh has been delivering.⁴ These speeches have created a very bad impression in Delhi and have excited the Sikhs. I really do not see how we can go on tolerating this kind of thing. Another sinner in this respect is Choithram Gidwani⁵ who has completely gone off the deep end and is acting

4. On 3 June 1948, Master Tara Singh said that "Sikhs are faced with dual danger. On the one side Muslim rule has been established and on the other there is Hindu raj. Although the Congress does not admit to be Hindu raj, the majority consists of communal-minded Hindus. . . . If the Sikhs are firm, Hindus cannot survive and this will finish India too. . . . War is inevitable and for this reason we should be prepared."
5. On 17 May 1948, Choithram Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee, said that the country had achieved independence as a result of the sacrifices of those who were called refugees and that the Government of India had "miserably failed to solve their problem".

in a most irresponsible manner. Bhanju Ram Gandhi⁶ is a close second, though he does not say so much. These people are deliberately exciting the refugees and cursing the Government. You will remember that after consulting you I gave Rs. 50,000 for relief work to Choithram Gidwani.

23. I have often spoken to you about the Relief Ministry. Neogy finds it impossible to give any time to it as he is full of his own ministry, Commerce, and he is looking after finance in Chetty's absence. I, therefore, propose to ask Mohanlal Saksena to take charge of the Relief Ministry as Minister of State, that is, not as a Cabinet Minister. Insofar as dealings with Pakistan are concerned they will be in charge of Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

24. Moutbatten told me that he intends going to Dehra Dun to see you on the next Saturday, the 12th June. If so I shall try to accompany him. On the 13th De Valera is coming here for a day and a half. On the 15th Liaquat Ali and company will come and then after a few days the Mountbattens will depart.

Please forgive me for this tremendously long letter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. A freedom fighter ; participated in non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements; Minister, North West Frontier Province, 1937-39, 1945 and 1948; edited *Frontier Advocate*, *Bharat Mata* and *Punjab Advocate*.

18. Accession—the Only Solution¹

I am sorry to say that the prestige of U.P. has been undermined by party politics. Our party politics² is on the increase at present. I am not interested in party politics and I have never taken part in party politics. My only politics has been to fight for the freedom of the country.

I appeal to all Congressmen to eschew party politics and work unitedly to make the country strong. Pandit Pant, though he is like a pillar, is overburdened with responsibilities and it is the duty of all Congressmen to pull the Congress out of the mire at this critical hour by closing up their ranks.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Naini Tal, 11 June 1948. From *National Herald*, 12 June 1948.
2. While the Socialists broke away from the Congress in March 1948, groups under Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and C.B. Gupta tussled for supremacy in U.P. In the U.P.P.C.C. elections, Gupta's nominee won but Kidwai's groups continued to challenge his hold on organisational affairs and accused him of corrupt practices.

An independent Hyderabad is full of dangers for India. Accession of Hyderabad to India will mean that we give it a place of honour and dignity and make it our partner in sharing the country's freedom. Hyderabad, which had been created under what was known as the Britishers' Indian States system, has refused to fall in line with other sister Indian States in merging with India, and its vast population is still under one-man rule, and feudal and dictatorial laws prevail there.

The Government does not wish to interfere in the administration of Hyderabad, but at the same time we will not permit any foreign power or agency or vested interest to establish itself in the State, as it would be inimical to the security of India.

There has been tremendous criticism in British-owned newspapers in India and abroad accusing the Government of intimidating Hyderabad. At the same time, Indian newspapers have charged us with adopting a weak and vacillating policy towards that State. Under such circumstances, the Government of India had to take strong measures, not with a view to defeating Hyderabad—because conflicts are always bad—but with a view to creating the India of our dreams.

All this talk of a completely independent and sovereign Hyderabad is absurd. Hyderabad can become independent only if India disintegrates.

The impact of the people's struggle for independence in the States is already being felt in Hyderabad. One man alone cannot guide the destiny of the Hyderabad people.

We have always had before us the picture of an ideal India; keeping that picture in mind, we shall force the pace of development and face any impediment that may come in our way in solving the Hyderabad issue.

In Kashmir, the fighting is still going on. The tribal marauders have been annihilated by our brave and patriotic troops, though not without losses in men and money. The morale of our army is very high and they are determined to chase out the last of the enemy from the valley.

Pakistan's problems are inevitable after the dismemberment of a country. It has created conditions which sometimes border on chaos. A transfer of five millions of people is indeed staggering and this rehabilitation is undoubtedly a gigantic task. We are not fully satisfied with the success we have achieved in dealing with the post-partition problems, but I strongly feel that any other government would have collapsed under the burden of such complexities.

The talk of war between India and Pakistan is childish and irresponsible. We have already before us many problems which have so far defied solution. I think India and Pakistan are so closely tied together geographically and economically that we cannot do without good neighbourly relations. Otherwise points of conflict will continue. It is, however, our duty to remain in

a state of preparedness for the defence of the country from any outside aggression and for facing internal dangers.

I do not think that another world war is near. The world situation is, no doubt, delicate but India will not tear apart.

The League in Pakistan wishes to create an Islamic, theocratic state.³ Such a state will have neither a root nor a foundation. A state based on religion is incongruous in modern times and if such a state is established there will be trouble and it will collapse.

If the Hindus also desire to create a similar theocratic state in India, it will meet the same fate.

There has been considerable criticism of the Government which I welcome as it does some good. But I must ask the critics to remember that sometimes while dealing with one particular problem, there is a possibility of another more difficult problem coming up. Our Government is, therefore, keeping before it the whole picture while dealing with any problem.

I cannot promise a path of roses for you when all countries of the world are faced with difficulties. But our attempt will be to do everything possible for our people with full confidence in our future.

3. In a broadcast to the United States in February 1948, Jinnah said : "I am sure the constitution of Pakistan will be of a democratic type, embodying the principles of Islam. Today, they are applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago."

19. An Open-door Policy towards Hyderabad¹

The Government is pursuing an open-door policy inasmuch as the proposals which we have forwarded to the Nizam have not been withdrawn and it is open to the Nizam to accept them at any time he chooses.²

1. Interview to the press, New Delhi, 17 June 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 18 June 1948.
2. The first part of the draft proposals, called the Heads of Agreement, specified that India would have the right to inspect the Nizam's forces which would not exceed 20,000, and the irregular forces which would not exceed 8,000. The Razakars should be disbanded in three months and their parades and demonstrations stopped. The Indian Government would station its forces in Hyderabad to meet emergencies, would control external affairs and have legislative power in respect of specified subjects but the Nizam would be allowed to issue ordinances if the legislative authority did not do so. All existing agreements and arrangements of common interest were to continue. The second part was a *firman* which the Nizam would issue in case of agreement, indicating his desire to introduce responsible government pending a plebiscite to decide the accession issue.

Question : How long are you prepared to wait for Hyderabad to accept the terms which have been offered to it?

Jawaharlal Nehru : We are not waiting for anybody. We are just going ahead to do whatever we wish to do in the matter. During the interval, the Government of India will tighten up the blockade³ in respect of arms, ammunition and other commodities which can be used for military purposes, and will take such defensive steps as are warranted.

The terms contained in the draft proposals to the Nizam are the uttermost limit to which the Government of India are prepared to go and they are not variable in any way. I am not at all worried that these have not been accepted nor am I excited about it. I am not prepared to say that our efforts will not bear fruit even now. But we are not going to discuss anything with the representatives of Hyderabad any more, but if they wish to sign on the dotted line they are welcome to do so.

I received a telegram from the Nizam's Government late yesterday evening expressing their desire to continue the talks. But there is no question of any further protracted negotiations and this has been made perfectly clear to them.

The propaganda that is being carried on by the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen that India is out to exterminate the Muslims of Hyderabad is fantastic nonsense. I can assure them that they will have the same rights as anyone else in Hyderabad, and if the Hyderabad State acceded it would become an equal partner of the Indian Union.

If this does not take place and, unfortunately, a situation develops in such a way that a conflict takes place, the result of that is obvious. There will be only one result and it will not be to the liking of the present Government in Hyderabad and it will not be the result which will be bound by any draft agreement. But if it is possible to have a peaceful solution, we should have it.

I expect Sir Walter Monckton to be back from Hyderabad this evening.⁴ I do not expect anything special to happen, but I thought it would be fair to wait for him so that the press could have the latest information.

The two drafts, the agreement, and the *firman*, at the present moment, are of historical interest only, but will enable the public to know the basis on which the Government of India are proceeding.

3. The negotiations for Hyderabad's accession to India were broken off in New Delhi on 17 June 1948. India indicated that it would intensify the economic blockade of the State. The Nizam refused to agree to introduce popular government.
4. The draft agreement reached between the representatives of the Governments of India and Hyderabad to govern the relations between the two Governments had not been accepted by the Nizam. The terms of agreement and the draft of the *firman* which were to have been issued by the Nizam in the State following the signing of the agreement were released at a press conference.

Apart from the agreement which was to have been signed by the Government of India and the Hyderabad Government, the *firman* is something which the Nizam of Hyderabad would have issued. So far as the Government of India is concerned, the *firman* is important and hence in a sense it is a part of the draft agreement.

Apart from these documents, it was proposed that I would give a collateral letter to the Hyderabad Government to make one or two points clear. They included, for instance, that the Government of India would do their utmost to ensure a free flow of goods of all kinds to Hyderabad, secondly, that the Government of India would operate on a joint basis for the economic development of Hyderabad and afford all facilities to them and, thirdly, that it was not the policy of the Government of India that there should be any unfair discrimination against Hyderabad in the working of the new agreement. There was the question of certain trade matters and representation in international organisations, such as food, etc. The Government of India had said that these questions could not be considered in isolation and had to be decided with reference to the constitution of various organizations, and the Government of India's relations with them, but we were prepared to consider them later. In effect, there was nothing new in them except to remove any apprehension that there would be any discrimination against Hyderabad after the conclusion of the agreement.

During the last ten days, various proposals have been discussed between the representatives of India and Hyderabad and ultimately they have taken shape in the form of the two documents that have now been released. Meanwhile, there have been at least two visits to Hyderabad by the Nizam's representatives, taking back these proposals in some form or the other and so the impression we got was that these proposals were agreed to by the Nizam's representatives here. I had, in fact, made it clear to them even before they came on the last occasion that there was not much point in taking the trouble to come over here unless they accepted the basis of these proposals, and unless they came with plenipotentiary authority to come to an agreement. It was really on that basis that the talks had proceeded.

The principal matters contained in these proposals were more or less accepted by the Nizam's representatives here. In fact, we thought that we were going to proceed to sign them when we were told that they wanted to take them back to Hyderabad to consult the Nizam. But one of our difficulties in this business has been dealing with persons who cannot say 'yes' or 'no' definitely, but continually want to fly back to Hyderabad in spite of the fact that they are connected by telephone and are continually telephoning to each other. This made it very difficult to get on and numerous unnecessary delays took place. Anyhow the position at present is that this latest agreement has not been accepted by the Hyderabad Government or the Nizam.

They have not said that negotiations are over. In fact, they have suggested in a telegram which came just an hour ago that they will like to carry on talks, and have said that as the draft stands at present, they are unable to agree to it.

So far as we are concerned, we have given naturally a great deal of thought and attention to this matter during the last few months. We have been criticized and to some extent it has been said that the Government of India was weak and feeble in dealing with the Hyderabad situation. A few persons have also said that we wield the big stick too much. So far as Indian opinion is concerned, I think it is quite unanimous in criticizing us for being rather lax. It is not merely a question of coming to a political or economic agreement with Hyderabad, but of facing a dynamic situation which is giving rise to continuous trouble in border areas and which may bring trouble to wider areas.

It is not for me to enter into a long explanation or justification of the attitude of the Government of India in this matter, but I now stand by everything that the Government of India has done in this matter and I think both these criticisms are not justified or are based on insufficient data or insufficient realization of any action which might have been undertaken in the past.

We have stated fairly clearly in the past what our basic attitude towards Hyderabad is. Hyderabad, situated as it is, cannot conceivably be independent and India can never agree to it whatever happens and whatever may be the consequences. This is not because of sentimental reasons and not because of an emotional approach to the problem, but for highly practical reasons of geography and other reasons which will lead to incessant conflict.

If Hyderabad is not to be independent in the real sense of the word—I am not talking about internal autonomy which in fact all the provinces and States and Unions of State enjoy—then it will have to become part of the Indian Union with exactly equal rights like any of the other provinces or States or Unions of States, and enjoying the same rights and other things. It is not, therefore, a question of any kind of suppression of Hyderabad or a Hindu-Muslim question, but one of partnership with equal rights.

If they leave out independence and if there is no accession, the alternative is paramountcy only. Paramountcy means practically for the Indian Union as such to have all the rights which accession would confer on it without that free partnership of Hyderabad enjoying a big share in shaping its own as well as India's destiny. So the alternatives are only accession or paramountcy.

In the process of reaching this end i.e. accession, we may be compelled to take a step here or there to avoid conflict and bring about a peaceful solution of the problem. But it can only be a temporary stage leading to the desired

goal. But the Indian Government as well as the Indian States dislike paramountcy with its bad odour because it will affect the whole conception of the Indian States which are growing as free partners in the Indian Union. Thus paramountcy is ruled out and all that remains is accession.

But again the Government of India realize fully that it is not desirable to force the pace by bringing coercion and compulsion into the picture and to proceed without an agreement. I am quite convinced that the Government of India is right in not trying to force the pace. Of course, circumstances might force the pace but it is against India's policy to bring about accession by compulsion.

To some extent directly or indirectly compulsion does function, but that is not compulsion for accession but for other things. For instance, the Government stopped the inflow of arms and warlike materials to Hyderabad for obvious reasons, the biggest reason being, from all accounts the Government had received, the Hyderabad Government was trying its utmost to increase its army, regular and irregular, arm it and to get as much warlike materials as possible from the four quarters of the globe. That they did not succeed as much as they wanted was not for lack of efforts on their part, but for other reasons.

Why are all these frantic efforts being made to increase the army and whom is it going to fight? Obviously the only opponent could be the Indian Union. Then again there are the Razakars, the fighting wing of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen, who started their operations not only in Hyderabad State, but also on the borders and sometimes across the borders. These operations became progressively more and more harmful and dangerous to the people in the State and outside. Certain groups of persons such as the Communists and others retaliated on their own free will and carried on aggressive tactics against the Hyderabad State. The Razakars can be considered a wing of the Nizam's Government and, indeed, the present Council of the Nizam is controlled and dominated either by the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen or the Razakars.

It was patently impossible for the Government of India to allow arms to go to Hyderabad and we succeeded in a large measure in stopping them. We also stopped certain other things such as transport which might be used for war purposes. But these kinds of pressures were not used for accession. This was done simply because the Government could not afford to see large armies grow up and harass the people of the Indian Union.

We entered into the Standstill Agreement in accordance with which India withdrew her armed forces which were stationed in the heart of Hyderabad. That in itself shows that India wished to honour the Standstill Agreement which, we hoped, would lead in course of time to a peaceful settlement.

The activities and utterances of the leaders of the Ittehad and the Razakars have to be condemned. It is not a question of individuals speaking, but it

is not proper for responsible leaders of organisations intimately connected with the State Government and in fact controlling the Government to make such speeches. In a recent speech made by Mr. Razvi, he was reported to have said that the Razakars would march to Delhi and capture the Red Fort. He was further reported to have said that if Indian troops went there he would massacre all the Hindus. Such speeches have not only had a bad effect within Hyderabad, but all over India.

The Government of India would certainly have been justified by all canons of national or international law to take action when this kind of military preparation and border attacks and speeches were made without any check or hindrance.

Why did we not do so? Generally speaking, we refrained and we held our hand much to the disgust of many of our people, and much to the disgust of the several provincial governments, who themselves were suffering by the activities of the Razakars. We held our hand because we hoped to come to a peaceful settlement and because we had to think of all the possible consequences that might flow from any kind of action that we might take. We did not wish to be hustled because some irresponsible persons in Hyderabad were misbehaving.

We do not look at Hyderabad State, in spite of what they say, as anything but a part of India. We do not think of Hindus and Muslims of Hyderabad State as anything else but Indians. We do not want to do anything which will bring sorrow and misery to the people in Hyderabad as well as outside.

It was easy enough to take military action and to justify it, but it would have led to misery and sorrow. It would have led to reactions in India. No country and no responsible government can lightly undertake something which would bring such misery so long as there is another way out of the difficulty, and so deliberately we restrained our hand and resorted to exercising pressure continuously and in a sense making ourselves ready for any emergency but nevertheless hoping for an agreement which will avoid any conflict.

So long as there are chances for a peaceful settlement, the Government will be justified in adopting the policy I have set out, but at the same time, I want to tell the Indian people clearly and plainly that this Government will, of course, stand up for the honour of India and the Indian people, but it will also stand up for peace to the utmost because we think it is the right policy, and because we have some memory of what our departed leader stood for. But the Hyderabad Government have not accepted these terms though they still talk of carrying on negotiations.

So far as we are concerned, these terms are the uttermost limit to which we can go. No change in them is possible or permissible. If the Hyderabad Government is prepared to accept them, it can accept them still. But, obviously, the situation is not static. It is a dynamic one and it changes both inside and outside Hyderabad.

As a responsible Government, we have to take note of this fact and keep ready for any contingency. We are not going to be hustled or rushed into anything till we are convinced that nothing else remains. If these terms are acceptable still, well and good, but these terms are not going to be varied. This is the position. We may say, thus far there has been no absolute break. Certainly, on our part, there is no question of that.

In fact the representatives of Hyderabad agreed to these terms. It is only the people in Hyderabad who raised objections later. Some of these were fantastic while others had some substance. The odd thing was that some of the objections raised had been never raised before.

We have all been working hard to arrive at a settlement and it is a great disappointment that irresponsible persons who do not seem to realize the consequences of their actions, apparently living in isolated conditions in glass houses and not knowing what is happening outside, should proceed in the way the Hyderabad authorities are doing. It is indeed very sad.

But I wish to tell you that I am not at all worried or excited about it. I have the satisfaction that we have done our utmost. I am not prepared to say that our efforts will not bear fruit even now as this draft agreement is the fruit. That should be perfectly clear. We are not going to discuss with the representatives of Hyderabad any more, but if they wish to sign on the dotted line they are welcome to do so. There is no question of further protracted negotiations.

I must, of course, thank the last Governor General, Lord Mountbatten, for his efforts to bring about peace. We all worked hard to bring about a settlement, but somehow when people went to Hyderabad, things changed and the atmosphere changed and they got back to a medieval world totally ignorant of modern age and modern conditions.

There are four points in the draft *firman*: plebiscite, responsible government, constituent assembly and interim government. It is highly important that the principle of responsible government should be accepted and given effect to. The Government of India cannot come to any agreement with any State except on the basis of democratic freedom in that State. They cannot come to an agreement with Hyderabad unless they know that responsible government will prevail there. It is inconceivable that, when the whole of India, the States and the provinces, have adopted full responsible government, Hyderabad should remain alone in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The only question is whether the changeover should come peacefully, cooperatively or by trouble on a big scale.

The Hyderabad Government should realize that a change is inevitable and they should give effect to it. The Government of India have suggested that the Hyderabad Government should discuss this matter with the leaders of popular movements there and, temporarily at least, come to terms with them till the constituent assembly decides the issue.

We do not wish to impose our will even in this matter, but want that ultimately it must be the people of Hyderabad who should decide the democratic form of government for themselves.

Question : On what particular grounds was the agreement not acceptable to the Nizam?

Jawaharlal Nehru : The Nizam in his reply said that certain parts of the draft agreement were inserted at the last moment and had not been properly understood by his representatives here. That, of course, was completely wrong and was pointed out to the Nizam by Sir Walter Monckton. Only half an hour before, I received a telegram from the Nizam apologizing for this statement.

Q : What is the position now?

J N : There is nothing but an utter lack of clarity on the part of the Hyderabad Government. Certain things were first stated and then certain things were left out. As for India's attitude, apart from trying to achieve the present agreement, there is an economic blockade to some extent, there is the tightening up of the border and instruction to the Indian military to pursue the raiders even across the border to punish them. What other steps we will take must depend upon circumstances. But at the same time the Government will try to avoid, as much as possible, a large-scale conflict.

It is really difficult to get a grip over the objections raised by Hyderabad, for they are not real objections. There are probably some other objections at the back of their minds. Possibly, they were put forward by the Razakars and yet the Hyderabad Premier during his recent negotiations did not raise any objection to the continuance of the Razakars.

I appeal to the people of Hyderabad, specially the non-Muslims, not to leave Hyderabad. I am sorry that some of them showed a tendency to leave Hyderabad. They should remain there for leaving it will do no good to them or anybody else. By leaving Hyderabad they will be just playing into the hands of those who wished them to do so.

20. Interim Defence Measures¹

It appears that our instructions regarding the entry of our armed forces into Hyderabad territory in pursuit of raiders from that territory have not

1. Note to States Ministry, 20 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

been clearly understood or conveyed to the local officers concerned.² I have also just seen a copy of a telegram from the C.P. Government No. 56 CC dated 19th June addressed to States Ministry. All this necessitates clear directions to be given and conveyed to local authorities concerned.

I suggest that those directions should be issued through the Defence Ministry to our army commanders round about Hyderabad and by the Home Ministry to the local governments concerned.

These instructions should be as follows.

“Pending further instructions, the following policy should be followed in regard to Hyderabad State :

With the exception of articles of food, salt, medical stores and chlorine for purifying the water supply, all other articles should be denied entry into Hyderabad State and strict blockade should be maintained in regard to these other articles. In the case of any doubtful article reference should be made to the Government of India.

In view of raids from Hyderabad territory into Indian Union territory swift action should be taken to repel these raids and punish the raiders. This may be taken by both the police and the army. Where the raiders escape into Hyderabad territory, they should be pursued across the border and punishment inflicted and, if possible, raiders captured and brought back. This again may be done both by the army and the police, provided always that this is done in adequate strength so as to avoid any danger to our party crossing the border. Provided also that care should be taken that our party crossing the border does not go too far beyond the border thus getting isolated from its main base and possibly entangled in the interior of Hyderabad State. Our counter action must not go too far beyond the border and there should be no dispersal of our forces on the other side. Where a more serious situation arises demanding the use of larger forces, an immediate reference should be made to the Government of India.

Our armed forces on the border of Hyderabad, including police and Home Guards, should be on the alert all the time to prevent raids as well as any kind of smuggling into Hyderabad State.”

2. The Indian Army units were reported on 27 June 1948 to have been deployed on the borders of Hyderabad.

21. Alert on Arms-Running¹

In continuation of my last note on Hyderabad, I suggest that the following matters be immediately investigated :

1. Note to States Ministry, 21 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

1. The control of any aircraft going to Hyderabad. If this goes normally after stopping somewhere in India, this should be searched for arms or other materials. I suppose this is being done. I understand however that sometimes an aircraft flies across Indian territory to Hyderabad without stopping *en route*. This is against the rules. The question is how to check it. The Defence Ministry might be asked for their views on the subject and as to how far and in what manner radar could be employed for spotting such aircraft.

2. I understand that Finance Ministry have for some time past been considering a note by Mr. K.M. Munshi about stopping financial transactions with Hyderabad. This matter should be expedited.

3. The possibility of stopping communication services across Hyderabad should also be investigated.

A copy of this note is being sent to the Defence Ministry.

22. Unwarranted Criticism of Government Policy¹

I am keen to place before the public certain questions, which, besides being the topics of the day, are also engaging the attention of the Government of India.

I am sure that if I were to detail a list of the acts of commission and omission of the Central Government, it would turn out to be a long list. I have seen that in many cases public criticism of the actions of the Government, both Central and provincial, has been devoid of facts; for example the criticism that has appeared in the press about certain events connected with the marriage of the sons of one of the U.P. Ministers.² The facts showed that the criticism was baseless and had been made without due verification of facts.

If I had been asked what we would do after independence I would have drawn up ambitious schemes for industrial development of the country for increasing the wealth and reducing the poverty and hunger of the masses. All these would have been undertaken after August 15 had we not been overtaken by the disturbances that broke out in the wake of India's freedom. The immediate task before us then was to stem the tide of disturbances and save the country from the grave danger that faced her. Then came the question

1. Speech at a public meeting, Lucknow, 24 June 1948. Based on reports from *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 25 June 1948.

2. It was alleged that on account of the weddings of Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim's sons, a road was built, an airfield was remodelled, and electricity denied to tubewells.

of the transfer of population from one area to another. All our big schemes had to be put off in the face of this emergency. And when that situation came under control, a new problem cropped up—the gigantic task of rehabilitating and resettling these lakhs of refugees who had been uprooted from their hearth and home and had suffered immense hardships.

There is no other example in the history of the world when a newly born state had to face such heavy odds at its very inception. Our future seemed dark. How could any development schemes be taken in hand in such circumstances? I don't think it is proper for anybody to discuss these questions as though they were participating in the proceedings of a debating society of some school or college.

Then over and above these difficulties came the problems of Kashmir and Hyderabad. Maybe we have committed mistakes in these cases. But the way our policy has been criticised smacks of childishness. Whatever the Government of India have done in Hyderabad and Kashmir they have done the right thing.

I must pay tribute to the splendid work of the Indian troops in Kashmir. In Kashmir, the Indian troops were put to a very severe test for the first time, under the command of Indian officers, and I am proud that they are doing well under very difficult circumstances. Even the British when they had to deal with the tribal areas came across numerous difficulties. The Indian Government have had to deal not only with the tribal raiders, but also with the might of Pakistan which is behind them. We went to Kashmir eight months ago and can be justifiably proud of our achievements there.

When we decided to go to the help of Kashmir, we did not take the decision of our own accord. We were invited by the people and the ruler of Kashmir to help them to throw back the raiders. If we had shown the slightest hesitation in rushing help, Kashmir would have been ruined. It was not a communal question as Pakistan would have us believe. The local population was fighting for its own freedom. They were mostly Muslims and they were fighting the raiders because they wanted to live like free people. It is, therefore, evident that the Kashmir question cannot possibly be settled in a single day howsoever anxious we may be to clear the state of the raiders.

The Hyderabad question, likewise, is not a communal question, although the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and Razakars have tried to give a communal colour to the dispute. It is a purely political issue, being one of establishing a democratic government there. We do not believe in coercing any State to accede to the Indian Union.

Most of the 600 and odd States have been integrated into provinces or unions and there are only 30 left. A new shape has been given to them within this short period since August 15. This is a remarkable achievement and could not have been possible without the active support of the people of

these States. In all of these States responsible governments have been established, the only exception being Hyderabad.

Hyderabad is situated in the heart of the country without any outlet. Independence of a country means that it can declare war against any other country. We can never tolerate an independent Hyderabad being a thorn in India's side nor can we let it grow into a base for any foreign power. It will be a grave source of danger to the defence of our country.

The Government of India do not want war with anybody, although some people think that the declaration of war and the marching of Indian troops into Hyderabad are the only methods of solving the problem. If at all we have to do this, it can be done only after full consideration of all the facts. There is nothing to prevent us from ordering our troops into Hyderabad, but if a question can be solved in a peaceful manner, we shall try our best to do it that way. Hyderabad is a part of our country and its people are Indian nationals. We want to give them full citizenship of the Indian Union and extend partnership of the state to them.

We wish to make India a strong country which could march rapidly to progress and prosperity. It is essential to concentrate on peaceful methods to achieve our goal. We have an ideal before us and are determined not to allow anger to get the better of us or be led away by the speeches of Razakar leaders and do things which might ultimately not be in our best interests.

We agreed to give Hyderabad some concessions, because we wanted to remedy the basic mistake, and not because we wanted to be lenient to the Nizam. In fact, our stand is firm, but we do not want to take any hasty action. We will not let ourselves be hustled into taking any hurried action by irresponsible talk and criticism from any quarters, including the Socialists.

Some people have made long statements about Kashmir and Hyderabad. But they are not in possession of all the facts. The Socialists have expressed their anger on the Government of India's action in Kashmir and Hyderabad and on the delay in the abolition of zamindari. Some Socialists said that they would abolish zamindari in 24 hours. I do not think it behoves any responsible man to make such a statement. We cannot effect changes overnight—such drastic changes take place only gradually. Personally I regard myself a socialist and want India to be a socialist state. But I do not agree with the present programme of the Socialists. They have not taken into account the great changes India has undergone and are advocating what would have suited India two years ago.

However much they may want it, socialism cannot be brought about in one day or by an act of legislation. If they do so it is likely that the present structure will fall without any other taking its place. It had taken Russia 30 years to bring about the change.

The A.I.C.C. has drafted an economic programme³ which was discussed by the Socialists also. The Government of India have now framed their policy on that basis in certain matters. Yet the Socialists who had endorsed the Congress programme now call it a capitalist programme. This is a negative attitude. Maybe if the Socialists were in power they would go faster than the Congress has done or they might have even gone slower. But the present Government had also expected to go more rapidly and probably would have succeeded but for the circumstances that hampered its progress.

The social structure of India is certainly not satisfactory and has to be changed, and we are trying our best to do so. But if in our attempt to improve the society, we destroy it, it will mean years of misery for the people before things can be set right. It pains me to see some of my former colleagues for whom I have the greatest respect say things which do not befit responsible persons.

No doubt the Congress has many faults, which have rendered the organisation weak. We have to remove those defects and strengthen the party because it is the only organisation at present which can deliver the goods. It is not proper for the Socialists⁴ to weaken the Congress by leaving it at this stage. It will take years for socialism to come to India. If socialism has to be brought about it will be brought through the Congress. Instead of working for that goal the Socialists have left the Congress. This is most unfortunate. They should have worked to rid the Congress organisation of its defects and make it strong.

Provincialism and communalism have also tended to raise their heads. There have been repeated demands for more provinces.⁵ I am quite aware of the need for more provinces but then it should be agreed that first things should have first priority. Such feelings among the people tend to make the country weak.

3. The Economic Programme drafted by the Congress in February 1948 aimed at improvement in standards of living by increasing production, an equitable distribution of income and wealth, a proper balance between rural and urban economy, self-sufficiency and a wide diffusion of job opportunities through decentralised economy.
4. At the sixth annual convention of the Socialist Party at Nasik on 19-21 March 1948, it was decided to withdraw from the Congress because of the Draft Constitution which the Socialists found "unsocialistic" and because the Congress had "outlawed any organised group or party functioning inside the Congress", thereby destroying the multi-class character of the organisation. The convention also criticised the official policy towards Hyderabad which it found dilatory.
5. In principle, the Congress agreed to the demand for linguistic provinces but the committee, consisting of Nehru, Patel and Sitaramayya, set up by the Jaipur Congress in December 1948, advocated postponement of the issue "so that we might concentrate on other matters of vital importance."

There has been criticism of our foreign policy⁶ also and I ask the critics to show me the way India's foreign policy should be planned. No other country in the world at present has had such a successful foreign policy as ours. May I request these critics to be more positive and constructive in their thinking? The world is heading towards a crisis and in the event of another world war a major part of the globe can be destroyed.

You cannot depend on the Government to remedy all your problems. Progress cannot be made only by governmental action. You, the people of India, should take the initiative in your hands to try to remedy the situation.

I call upon the youth of the country to realise the responsibilities of freedom and strengthen the Congress by joining it as it is the only organisation which can prevent disintegration of the country by its clear stand against fissiparous tendencies like communalism and provincialism.

6. India had been criticised for, among other things, supporting the provision of the veto in the Security Council, for adopting an independent line in regard to the issues relating to Korea and Palestine and for its failure to join any bloc.

23. The Razakar Raids¹

The Prime Minister drew the attention of the Cabinet to the news appearing in the newspapers regarding raids by Razakars on villages in Kistna district. He informed the Cabinet that our armed forces had been instructed to follow up such incidents with a view to arresting the raiders, if necessary, by entering Hyderabad territory. The Prime Minister also informed the Cabinet that the economic boycott against Hyderabad was being stiffened and that the steps to be taken to stiffen the boycott further were being considered by the Secretary of the Ministry of States in consultation with the Provincial Governments of Bombay, Madras and C.P.

1. *Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 25 June 1948. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.*

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

New Delhi
15 April 1948

My dear Premier,

I have just come back after a brief two-day visit to Orissa. I went there to inaugurate the construction of the Hirakud Dam and to lay the foundation stone of the new capital of Orissa at Bhubaneswar. The two days were full of work and engagements, but I had a sense of peace there which I had not experienced for a considerable time. The atmosphere of Orissa was very different from the turgid, conflict-laden air of Delhi and of so many other places in India today. The problems before the provincial government were those of construction and the many difficulties that beset other provinces were singularly absent. There were no internees or political prisoners in the jails. People there were naturally interested in events that were taking place in the rest of India and the world. But that interest was a somewhat distant one, something in which they were not themselves intimately involved. I felt how good it would be if the rest of India would also think more in terms of constructive and creative effort rather than of conflict.

2. The Hirakud Dam is part of the great Mahanadi scheme of river valley development. The entire scheme is a mighty one and when it is fully realised, it ought to change the whole face of the province. The disastrous floods that have periodically overwhelmed Orissa will be a thing of the past. Large fresh areas will be brought under cultivation. The erosion of the soil will be stopped and more than two million kilowatts of electric power will be available for industry or other purposes. It is proposed also to have a deep water canal to the sea for inland navigation. All this is a fascinating vision of the future which fills one with enthusiasm. As I threw in some concrete, which was to form the base of the great Hirakud Dam, a sense of adventure seized me and I forgot for a while the many troubles that beset us. I felt that these troubles will pass, but that the great dam and all that follow from it will endure for ages to come. This is the first of our great schemes on which work has actually started. I hope that the Damodar Valley scheme will also be inaugurated soon and the many others about which we have been thinking so long. Unfortunately most of these schemes and projects have taken many long years in process of incubation, sometimes as long as 30 or 40 years. The Mahanadi project is an exception as it was thought of

1. File No. 25(6)-47-48-PMS. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru—Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1, (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 103-140.

first only three or four years ago and a great deal of work has been put in since then.

3. The laying of the foundation stone of the capital city of Bhubaneswar turned out to be more exciting than I had thought. The site is an ideal one, undulating ground and a cool breeze coming from the sea. The past is represented by ancient temples, some of them famous for their architecture and artistry. Otherwise there is a clean slate to write upon. The Architect² and the Chief Engineer have thought of this future city in terms not of a few palatial buildings but of a happy community. The capital is planned to help the people who have to live and work and play there. It will be, I hope, a pleasant city with attractive buildings. First attention has been paid to the health, safety and education of the children and their schools and playgrounds have been specially laid out with this object in view. The new town will be grouped in self-contained neighbourhood units, each comprising about 850 families. This will enable the town to grow without losing its community and neighbourly character. In each area residential houses will surround the schools and shopping centres and will be near to open fields and recreation grounds. In the centre of the town will be a group of public buildings with a Gandhi memorial pillar symbolising the life and teachings of Gandhiji. The new city is fortunate in having an architect of vision and engineers of both vision and capacity and its growth will be watched with great interest.

4. To come back to the less pleasant topics there is Kashmir and there is Hyderabad. There is the question of our tense relations with Pakistan and there is the strike of Central Government employees which took place in Calcutta.

5. In Kashmir our forces have occupied Rajauri.³ This has been a welcome success and it has liberated a large number of civilians who had been undergoing great suffering there. We have had no details of these operations yet, but first accounts indicate that before the raiders left Rajauri they destroyed and looted the town and killed a large number of these innocent people. Meanwhile, the Security Council continues its leisurely and more or less passive course. Possibly, in a day or two, it may meet to consider the Kashmir matter again, but it is exceedingly doubtful if this will lead to any substantial results. On the 16th of this month the Palestine issue will be considered by the Security Council and then Kashmir will be forgotten for another period. Our delegation will probably return soon, for we cannot afford to keep a big delegation consisting of one of our ministers and other important members

2. Otto H. Koenigsberger.

3. On 12 April 1948.

indefinitely in New York. We shall leave one or two representatives there in case they are required.

6. Hyderabad has become an even more vital issue than it had been chiefly because of the activities of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and their volunteer corps, the Razakars, who have spread terror in the towns and rural areas of the State. The President⁴ of the Ittehad has been delivering amazingly irresponsible speeches and the situation is deteriorating greatly. It has been the Government of India's policy to seek a peaceful settlement even though there might be some delay in this, but it is becoming increasingly difficult to remain passive while all these developments are taking place inside and on the borders of Hyderabad State. As I write this, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad has again come to Delhi and I do not know what the outcome of our talks will be. Our position has been and is that the people of Hyderabad cannot continue to live under an authoritarian and feudal regime, which is becoming increasingly violent and oppressive and which threatens the lives and property of the great majority of the population. All over India every State has introduced responsible government in a large measure. Some States have merged into the provinces, some have grouped themselves together to form major units of the Indian Union like the provinces. Some of the big States continue as units but with responsible government. The only exception is Hyderabad where there is no change whatever. I might also mention that the States in the north west which have acceded to Pakistan⁵ also remain unchanged in their internal administration.

7. It is manifest that Hyderabad cannot remain as it is, a feudal island in a democratic India. It is equally clear that both geographically and economically it cannot cut itself adrift from India, nor can a small minority dominate over the large majority. The immediate issue however is how to stop these violent outbursts of the Razakars and their leader, which threaten the peace of the whole of South India.

8. Our relations with Pakistan continue more or less as they were, though perhaps there is a tendency towards deterioration. There have been a number of border incidents specially in eastern Pakistan. The introduction of customs barriers and the raising of postal and telegraphic rates have led to new tensions.⁶ An effort is being made to consider afresh the various points in dispute, more specially the situation in East and West Bengal. For this purpose an inter-Dominion conference, at which ministers of the two

4. Syed Mohamed Kasim Razvi.

5. The States of Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat, Chitral, Dir, Swat, Kharan, Las Bela and Makran.

6. From 1 April 1948 the Government of India raised the postage rates from India to Pakistan, Burma, Bahrain, Dubai, Kuwait and Muscat.

Dominions as well as the Premiers of East and West Bengal and Assam will be present, is being held in Calcutta. An attempt is being made to coordinate discussions on matters regarding trade policy, tariffs, customs, economic controls, postal and telegraphic rates, etc. Our Cabinet has set up a special committee for the purpose of this coordination. It is not expected that a settlement will be reached on all the points at issue in Calcutta. But we hope that some considerable advance will be made which can be followed later by an inter-Dominion conference in Delhi.

9. We are having to face a new problem or rather a new aspect of an old problem. A stream of Hindu refugees continues to come into India from Sind and East Bengal. In addition to this we have now got to face the return of considerable numbers of Muslims who had gone over to Pakistan but who wish now to return to India. This is a welcome indication that conditions in India have improved and are better than those prevailing in Pakistan. We have encouraged people to return. But if all this traffic is one-way only, obviously this leads to grave difficulties and comes in the way of rehabilitation. Most of our towns are full of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan. In Delhi there are over half a million of such refugees. If large numbers of Muslims come back, it is very difficult to find accommodation for them unless some non-Muslims go back to Pakistan. We have tried our utmost to adhere to the policy enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi and have put no difficulty in the way of Muslims returning to India. But the problem of finding lands or houses remains and is likely to become much more acute as the summer advances. There is even a danger of epidemics. In some cities of Rajputana which are overcrowded with refugees, there is a lack of water, apart from other lacks. Our general policy now is not to prevent people from coming back if they wish to do so, but to point out the difficulties they will have to face in regard to accommodation and business or occupation.

10. We are very anxious that Hindus should not leave East Bengal. If they do so in very large numbers they will suffer greatly and we might be wholly unable to make any arrangements for them. At the same time conditions in East Bengal have deteriorated and over a million Hindus have come over during the past few months. The stream continues and we have to help those who come. The problem of Hyderabad as other similar problems must be viewed in this context. For if a major trouble breaks out it would add to these vast migrations and worsen communal atmosphere all over the country.

11. On the 7th April Government announced their industrial policy.⁷ It is hoped to appoint a planning commission before long which will consider

7. For Nehru's speech on the industrial policy, see pp. 297-304.

all aspects of development. For the present only the industrial aspect has been announced. You will no doubt have read the statement of policy in regard to nationalisation, the development of cottage and small scale industries, and the machinery for settlement of labour disputes in cooperation with the parties concerned.

12. The strike of the Central Government employees in Calcutta has ended. We have decided that there should be no victimisation and only those who have functioned as ring leaders and more specially those who have been guilty of violence will not be taken back and in serious cases might be proceeded against.

13. As you know a number of members of the Communist Party have been recently arrested in various provinces. The Communist Party as such has not been banned except by the West Bengal Government, and there is no intention of banning it or interfering with its legitimate activities. But some of the activities in the recent past have been far from legitimate and have created grave disorder. There has been open incitement for the collection of arms and violence, and sabotage has been feared. What has recently happened in Burma is a pointer to what might happen here.⁸ It was with the greatest regret that action of this kind of arresting and interning people was taken by Government. As you will realise this goes against the grain and we want to limit it as far as possible. In spite of all efforts, mistakes are made by local officials and one glaring case of such a mistake was in one province where a leading member of the Communist Party who had long been ill and who was actually having a high temperature, was arrested.⁹ He died a few days later in prison. It was of course totally unnecessary and undesirable to arrest a man who was very ill and Government's case is necessarily weakened when such instances occur through thoughtlessness. We have to be very careful in having recourse to repressive measures because the appetite grows with use and it appears a simple way out of a difficulty. But as believers of civil liberty know, the consequences are apt to be bad, and a popular government like ours has to be particularly careful.

8. During March and April 1948 the Communists seized police stations, occupied small towns, looted rice depots and disrupted communications in the districts of Pegu, Myingyan and Bassein.

9. Rudra Dutt Bharadwaj died in jail within four days of his detention at Dehra Dun on 8 April 1948.

14. The Socialists have formally left the Congress. This had become inevitable, and yet it is painful to part with old friends and colleagues. Thus far, in the long and chequered history of the Congress, those who had dropped out from time to time had been the more conservative elements. This is the first occasion when any major withdrawal of progressive elements has taken place. This is not a pleasant reflection, and the thought occurs whether we still hold by our old moorings or are drifting away from them. So long as Gandhiji was with us, he stood as a great sentinel warning us of any straying from the path and trying to make us adhere to the standards and values he had set. Now that he is gone we have no such sentinel and the burden falls upon us.

15. The food situation in the country is a little more satisfactory than it was. We can say that there is no danger of famine, provided we exercise constant vigilance. But there have been steep rises in prices in certain parts, and demands have come to us for reimposition of price and movement control of foodgrains, as well as for the opening of fair price shops. We are watching the situation carefully and we hope that prices will come down somewhat.

16. The Armed Forces (Emergency Duties) Act, 1947, contains a provision for the declaration of any service to be a service of vital importance to the community. On the issue of such a declaration it becomes legally permissible for the members of the armed forces to be employed in the maintenance of those services. But it must be remembered that this does not mean that the maintenance of that service becomes the responsibility of the armed forces. Also, armed forces can be used only to the extent that they are available for this purpose. With increasing demands on the Indian Army, the ability of the armed forces to undertake the maintenance of other services is decreasing. I trust that you will appreciate this and not expect too much from them. They will, of course, help to the best of their ability in maintaining the essential services whenever necessity arises.

17. Some months ago I received an invitation from Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to visit the U.K. Recently I have received an invitation from President Truman to visit the United States. I am anxious to accept both these invitations, but in view of the situation in India it is not possible for me to do so in the near future. Sardar Patel's illness has made it still more difficult for me to leave India. Sardar Patel is now much better, but he will have to take rest for another month or two.

18. The Emperor of Abyssinia¹⁰ has asked us to send a small delegation to his country to explore possibilities of greater participation by Indians in the industries, trade and agriculture of that country. We propose to send such a delegation before long.

19. The All India Congress Committee is meeting in Bombay on the 24th and 25th of this month. Some of its decisions may well be vital from the point of view of Government. On the 18th of May the Constituent Assembly will meet to finalise our new constitution which has already been drafted. Probably this work will be completed by the end of June or early July. Actual elections under the new constitution cannot be held for another year or so. But there may be some transitory provisions for this intervening period.

20. I have not written to you anything about the international situation. You will no doubt be following this with anxious interest as it grows more and more threatening. Each one of us may, according to his bent, apportion blame to this or that country or individual. But the fact remains that, whoever might be to blame, subsequent disaster will overwhelm the guilty and the innocent alike. So far as India is concerned we shall continue to adhere to our declared policy to keep out of power entanglements. There is no other alternative policy for us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Haile Selassie ne Tafari Makonnen (1892-1975); Regent-Ruler of Ethiopia, 1916-30; Emperor, 1930-36 and 1941-74.

II

New Delhi
2 May 1948

My dear Premier,¹

I am writing to you separately, apart from my usual fortnightly letter, to draw your attention to a particular development that is taking place. Perhaps you may have yourself noticed some such development in your province.

Reports from many sources have reached me that the communal atmosphere is again becoming tense, and that particularly the people who belong to the R.S.S. and those who think with them are becoming vocal and demonstrative again. The demonstration part is not very aggressive yet and

1. A special letter in addition to the fortnightly letters.

usually takes some other form. Nevertheless, it seems clear that there is a definite attempt to spread communal bitterness and thereby create a sense of insecurity. When such an atmosphere is produced it is easy for incidents to occur, and when incidents occur they might well lead to bigger consequences.

Many of the R.S.S. men, who had been arrested previously, detained in prison for some time and then subsequently released, are again taking some part in these activities in spite of assurances they might have given.

The overall communal situation has improved in many ways in recent weeks. The inter-Dominion conference which was held in Calcutta recently led to a substantial agreement which immediately resulted in a marked improvement in East and West Bengal. The migration from East to West Bengal stopped and there was a general feeling all over the country that our problems were being solved.

In West Punjab the situation deteriorated to some extent because of the argument over the supply of water from East Punjab to some canal in West Punjab. This water supply was stopped by East Punjab because the West Punjab Government refused to abide by an agreement which the engineer representatives of both Governments had arrived at. An inter-Dominion conference is being held tomorrow in Delhi to consider this question of water supply. Meanwhile, the East Punjab Government has as a gesture of goodwill released the water again and this has had a good effect on the situation. Because of this argument the West Punjab Government had adopted certain retaliatory measures which had nothing to do with the water supply.

On the whole, therefore, the situation in India and Pakistan might be said to have improved from the communal point of view, except for the developments in Hyderabad. Recent incidents there and more especially the speeches of Mr. Razvi have led to great indignation all over the country. The Government of India has taken all necessary steps to protect its interests and to meet any contingency that might arise. These are in the nature of protective and precautionary steps and need not be considered aggressive. But it is true that the situation is an uncertain one and there is an element of risk in it. The real risk, which has to be guarded against, is the possibility of communal trouble in various parts of India as a result of developments in Hyderabad.

Provincial governments have, therefore, to be vigilant and watch all developments very carefully. Generally speaking, Muslims in India have expressed themselves clearly and emphatically in regard to Hyderabad. They have condemned the activities of the Ittehad-ul-Muslemeen and the Razakars. That shows a certain national solidarity which is very welcome.

Some element of danger may come from other quarters, that is, the extreme Hindu communalists, who might take advantage of a developing

situation and create trouble in various parts of India. That trouble will, of course, weaken the hands of Government in dealing with the Hyderabad situation as such.

For this and other reasons, it is extremely important that no opportunity be given to the people of the R.S.S. and their likes to organise themselves and function in their own way. I suggest to you therefore that you might let your Government keep a watchful eye on these communal elements and take steps again against such individuals as may be considered dangerous. We must not be caught napping and we cannot afford to be complacent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

III

New Delhi
5 May 1948

My dear Premier,

I must apologise to you for the delay in sending my fortnightly letter. I need not explain the reasons for the delay and I am sure you will understand.

2. During the last two days an inter-Dominion conference was held in New Delhi to consider the question of disposal of canal water from East Punjab to West Punjab. The canal headworks are in East Punjab and it was claimed by that Government that they had full ownership over the disposal of water by virtue of certain agreements and the Arbitral Award, etc. The West Punjab Government on the other hand insisted on their right to have the water regardless of other circumstances. Early in April the East Punjab Government stopped the supply with unfortunate consequences for certain crops in the Lahore district of West Punjab. Later water was allowed to flow again through the canals of that area in West Punjab.

3. The old irrigation system of the Punjab was concentrated in what is now West Punjab and East Punjab suffered greatly. Thus Hissar and other districts became scarcity areas liable to frequent famine. The East Punjab Government naturally are very anxious to develop these areas in their province. The West Punjab Government on the other hand is equally anxious not to have its water supply by means of rivers and canals lessened.

4. Questions of law and fact arose and there was a complete deadlock. Ultimately a somewhat provisional agreement was arrived at which you will no doubt have seen in the press.¹ This recognises East Punjab's necessity and right to use more and more water for its own areas. At the same time it also recognises the need of accommodating West Punjab and of giving them time to tap other sources. It is, I think, a fair agreement to both sides, but the matter has not been finally settled and after further data have been collected additional meetings on an inter-provincial or inter-Dominion level are likely to take place.

5. This is a good example of how a difficult situation involving vital interests of the parties concerned can be tackled in a cooperative way. Obviously a breakdown of negotiations on this issue would have had far-reaching results for all parties concerned in many other matters. We hope and believe that this settlement will lead to an easing of the situation all round vis-a-vis India and Pakistan and more specially East and West Punjab.

6. *Kashmir*. The Government of India have informed the Security Council that they cannot accept certain parts of the resolution passed by the Security Council and they have supported fully the attitude taken up by their delegation. This does not mean any outright rejection because no question of rejection arose. The Security Council had made certain recommendations. Whether the Commission will come out now or not is not clear. We do not think that a Commission can do much good if it considers itself bound by all the provisions of the Security Council's resolution. If, nevertheless, the Commission does come, we have stated that we will be prepared to confer with it. We have to face a difficult situation politically in regard to Kashmir. We feel that we have not been given a square deal and we cannot agree to certain propositions which we consider very harmful. At the same time we do not wish to be discourteous to the United Nations.

7. Probably future developments will be largely affected by the military situation. That is favourable to us and I expect a marked change for the better in the course of this month.

8. *Hyderabad*. There has been no fresh development except that feeling in the Indian Union has grown against the Hyderabad Government and insistent demands are being made upon us to take effective action. This

1. On 4 May 1948, Nehru intervened to prevent a breakdown in the talks between the representatives of India and Pakistan in New Delhi and helped them reach an interim settlement regarding the supply of water by East Punjab to the Central Bari Doab and Dipalpur canals in West Punjab.

feeling was represented at the recent meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay.²

9. Our own information derived from our diplomatic representatives overseas is that the Hyderabad Government continue to make frantic efforts to get arms and ammunition from abroad. Recently an approach was made to this effect to a Canadian firm. The matter was referred to us by the Government of Canada and we naturally took strong exception to the sale of any military equipment to Hyderabad.

10. *Goa.* The Hyderabad Government have continued to make attempts to gain a foothold in Goa. An old industrialist³ of the United Kingdom, who has been known to us from his previous contact with India as being extremely reactionary, has been functioning as a go-between with the Portuguese authorities. We have indicated to the Portuguese Government in the clearest terms that we would regard any encouragement given to Hyderabad in this direction a hostile act against India.

11. All these activities of the Hyderabad Government are definitely breaches of the Standstill Agreement. That Government again approached the American Embassy in London and asked for the good offices of the American Government in making contacts for their Chief Electrical Engineer. When this matter was referred to us we made it clear again that we were entirely opposed to any direct dealings between Hyderabad and foreign governments. All these attempts on the part of Hyderabad indicate a general policy which is a breach of the Standstill Agreement and is deliberately provocative.

12. Some provincial governments are perhaps thinking that we are not taking a strong enough line with Hyderabad. This is not so and I want you to feel that we are giving the fullest thought to this matter and taking all necessary steps to deal with any situation. Naturally no government embarks without serious thought on any steps which might lead to far-reaching consequences. Every government also has to view each particular problem in the context of the whole of India and other problems. From a military point of view we have to think of our commitments in Kashmir, the necessity of maintaining sufficient strength in East Punjab, and the needs of internal security in other parts of India. We must therefore for larger reasons avoid conflicts which have dangerous potentialities, but we must also be fully prepared to take any action that may become necessary. I wish to inform you that we are taking all steps for this preparation, military or other.

2. On 25 April 1948, the A.I.C.C. held a secret session to discuss the Hyderabad situation.

3. Sydney Cotton, an Australian, engaged in business in Britain.

We shall continue our attempt to bring about a peaceful solution of the problem but we will not tolerate any disturbances on our borders or elsewhere. The position has been made perfectly clear to the Hyderabad Government. We feel that the immediate issue is the curbing of the Razakars and a change in the present Hyderabad Government which is dominated by the Razakars.

13. The situation in the States has developed and is developing. One of the largest unions of States is the one which has just been agreed to in Malwa, that of Gwalior, Indore and certain other States in central India. The notable feature of this union is that it recognises many additional common subjects with the Indian Union and in this regard approaches the level of the Indian provinces. This is a significant advance. The States Ministry is holding a conference shortly of the Rajpramukhs and other leaders of the States with a view to revise the Instruments of Accession on these lines.⁴ The Ministry is tackling now the union of the Punjab States.

14. The progress made in the States on the purely political plane is highly satisfactory, but political changes are merely a means to an end and unless they are accompanied by administrative action and social change they might become almost meaningless. One of the great dangers to Indian States—a danger which to a large extent we escaped in Indian provinces—is the administrative vacuum that has been created since the 15th August. Few States have an appropriate administrative machinery or departments dealing with nation building activities. So long as the paramount power was in existence a certain rather low standard of administration was maintained. The machine worked though at a low level and the paramount power could to some extent control the discontent arising out of maladministration. With the lapse of paramountcy and the unleashing of popular forces, it is of the utmost importance to create in the States an administrative apparatus that will deal efficiently and sympathetically with the urgent needs of the population. The need for creating such an apparatus becomes all the greater when unions are formed, because the conception of a union is a new conception involving a new loyalty.

4. Following discussions between the States Ministry and the Rajpramukhs and Chief Ministers of the United States of Kathiawar, Vindhya Pradesh, Matsya Union and Rajasthan, held at New Delhi from 6 to 7 May 1948, it was decided that the Rajpramukhs would execute a new Instrument of Accession, ceding to the Union Government legislative and executive powers for more subjects besides defence, foreign affairs and communications already ceded to the Centre. Similar Instruments were to be signed by Rajpramukhs of new unions that were to be formed in central India and Punjab.

15. As a matter of fact the question of overhauling the administrative machinery of government is very much before us. My experience here has led me to the conclusion that our present machinery is to some extent archaic, and is certainly not conducive to rapid and efficient handling of matters. There is a great deal of lack of coordination and red tape and unnecessary noting. There are bottlenecks and the best of schemes are held up somewhere for weeks and even months. Our Cabinet here is considering this matter and we might revive the coordination committee of the Cabinet which faded away when the Muslim League members joined the old Executive Council.

16. I would like you to give some thought, in your province also, to the question of the reorganisation of government machinery with a view to seeing whether it is functioning at the maximum possible level of efficiency. There is a great deal of complaint from the public about our inefficiency, inaccessibility, delays and, above all, of corruption. I fear that many of these complaints are justified. We are perhaps busy as all of us are in our respective offices. We are rather apt to grow self-complacent and imagine that all is well in this best of all possible worlds. I suggest that all of us should remember always Lord Acton's famous dictum about power.⁵

17. This leads me to the various security measures that have been taken by the Central and provincial governments. I have no doubt that essentially these have been necessary. We have seen how a certain slackness on the part of government in Burma has led to widespread disorder and even rebellion. We live in India in a strange and abnormal atmosphere, the aftermath of the occurrences in the Punjab and elsewhere. There are vast masses of refugees full of bitterness. Any relaxation of vigilance may lead to disastrous consequences.

18. Nevertheless, the fact remains that once large powers are given to executive and police officers, they are likely to be misused. Indeed, I have had instances of such misuse. I am sorry to say that all the reputation that we acquired in the past as defenders of civil liberty and freedom is fading away. Our stock in the world has been high. It is not so high now and deputations and complaints have gone to our Ambassadors about various happenings in India.

19. The Government of India suggested to provincial governments some time back that special individuals suspected of dangerous activities leading to sabotage might be arrested and detained. The situation was a

5. "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

difficult one and there was a possibility then of big-scale troubles. In making these arrests, provincial governments adopted a varying procedure. Some arrested a few persons whom they specially suspected, others made large-scale arrests which could hardly be justified on individual grounds.

20. I am rather worried about this tendency all over India to use special measures against people we may not like. Even when temporarily justified, this creates the wrong kind of background and more and more we depend upon these special measures and the police. In the long run, and even in the short run, this is bad for the country, for the people, and for the Congress which is held responsible. I would therefore beg of you to examine this matter carefully. The responsibility for your province is of course yours and we should not like to interfere with it in any way.

21. I am particularly concerned about the growth of corruption, both at the Centre and in the provinces. This must be tackled efficiently or else we shall sink in this morass. One of our immediate problems is transport. We lack wagons, locomotives etc., but I think there could be a considerable improvement if the element of corruption was removed. This, of course, applies to all departments. It is generally said by the public that they cannot get anything done without some kind of bribery to some official.

22. I have written to you previously about our utter dependence on foreign sources for petrol, diesel oil, furnace oil etc. I am afraid there has been no marked improvement in the situation and the London conference that we had recently has not yielded results. We have therefore been forced to cut down drastically the basic petrol ration. We are trying to develop other sources but that will take time.

23. The recent inter-Dominion conference held in Calcutta yielded satisfactory results in many ways. How far those decisions will be implemented by Pakistan remains to be seen. But one very good result has already followed and that is the stoppage of the exodus from East Bengal to West Bengal. Already over a million persons are said to have migrated to West Bengal. I hope there will be no further migrations. This will depend on the overall situation and on other factors like Hyderabad. I cannot imagine a more disastrous development than the mass migration from East to West Bengal.

24. We have had to face a difficult situation in regard to these migrations in other places also. Non-Muslims continue to come out from Sind and elsewhere. In addition to these, large numbers of Muslims are returning from Pakistan to India. While we welcome this as indicating a return to

normality and the faith of these Muslims in the security offered by India, this one-way traffic is extraordinarily embarrassing. We just have not got room or accommodation. As it is we have done little to help vast numbers of refugees and now if a double one-way traffic continues we might well be overwhelmed by this problem. Our general instructions are that while movement should be free, so far as any group movement is concerned it should be checked till permission is obtained and arrangements made.

25. We have noticed recently a recrudescence of communal movements. The old R.S.S. is raising its head again in various forms and all kinds of rumours are afloat. I trust that your province will not permit this development. I would also like to draw your special attention to the resolution in regard to communal organisations passed by the Constituent Assembly. We have stated that we will not recognise or encourage in any way any communal organisation which has political ends. I hope that your Government will also follow this policy.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Premier,

I must again apologise to you for the delay in this letter. I have been having a brief holiday at Mashobra.¹

2. The international situation has, as you know, flared up in Palestine and a bitter small-scale war is going on there. I must say that the U.S. Government have handled the Palestine question with quite extraordinary ineptitude and opportunism. It is difficult to say whether this war will continue or end soon. I imagine that it cannot continue for very long as in any event the area is very limited. It appears also that the King of Transjordan is playing a hand mainly in his own interests.² The fact that the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and some other powers have hastened to recognise the State

1. Nehru was in Mashobra, part of the Viceregal estate near Shimla, from 13 to 17 May 1948.

2. On 16 May 1948, the Arab armies, led by Abdullah Ibn Hussain, King of Transjordan, invaded Palestine.

of Israel indicates that they will not look on and see the State crushed.³ Probably the next few days will show whether this war is going to be a short one or a longish one.

3. The Government of India have received a request from this new State of Israel for recognition. We propose to take no action in this matter at present. India can play no effective part in this conflict at the present stage, either diplomatic or otherwise. We can only watch events for the time being, hoping that an opportunity may come when we could use our influence in the interests of peace and mediation. The attitude that India has taken up over this matter in the past has been justified by subsequent events. But these very events have made it difficult to go back to that particular position now.

4. In spite of this war in Palestine, I am still convinced that there is no likelihood of any large-scale war in the near future, that is to say for a year or more. No country really wants a war in spite of the harsh language being used by statesmen.

5. *Kashmir*. I spent three days in Kashmir in connection with the independence celebrations there. These three days were refreshing and exhilarating to a degree. Not only was the climate ideal and the beauty of the valley overpowering, but the spirit of our troops and the people was most encouraging. It was a pleasure to see the problem being approached in a non-communal way and Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in Kashmir joining together in self-defence.

6. I travelled over the Jammu-Srinagar road *via* the Banihal pass and saw at first hand the immense difficulties which the Indian Army had to face in keeping the garrison and the valley supplied during the winter. Even now the Banihal pass had masses of snow on either side. I visited also the Uri front which at present is our most important front. Our soldiers there, officers and men, were in high spirits and eager to justify themselves. Very probably we shall have news soon of action along this front.

7. Our information is that the Pakistan Army is definitely taking part in the Kashmir operations, or at any rate some battalions of that Army are

3. On 14 May 1948, the mandate of Britain over Palestine ended and the Jews proclaimed an independent state of Israel in Palestine. It was recognised by the United States on 15 May and by the Soviet Union on 17 May.

taking part plus also guns. We have captured Pakistan soldiers. The Quaid-i-Azam Fund⁴ has been merged with the 'Azad Kashmir' Fund for relief.

8. The overall military situation has undoubtedly improved except in the distant region of Skardu and Kargil, which it is difficult for us to reach. Kargil has fallen to the enemy.⁵ We hope, however, to recover it soon. In order to get there our troops have to pass over the Zoji La, the pass which leads into Ladakh. The Rajauri-Riasi area has been cleared. There is little doubt that the morale of the enemy is low. All manner of fantastic charges have been made in the Pakistan press about the atrocities of the Indian Army. These are, so far as we know, completely without foundation. It is easy, I suppose, to take pictures of men wounded in battle, and call them atrocity cases.

9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has been trying to complete the personnel of the United Nations Commission for Kashmir⁶ and to appoint a Plebiscite Administrator. We have made it clear that no question of plebiscite arises at this stage and that we are not prepared to accept many of the provisions of the Security Council resolution. Until this matter is cleared up the Commission will be of little use. Nevertheless, if it comes we are prepared to talk to it and explain our position.

10. More important than the coming of the Commission is the development of the military situation. Almost equally important is the economic situation in the valley. The people there have suffered terribly during the winter which was peculiarly harsh. There was an almost absolute shortage of essential things like salt and sugar. Fuel was lacking. The State's economy is largely shattered and it has to face grave problems. Kashmir depends a great deal on tourist traffic. Without this traffic there is large-scale unemployment and the craftsmen as well as the owners of houses and house-boats languish. One effective way of helping Kashmir is for visitors to go there. At the present moment there is no more agreeable place for a holiday from every point of view. Srinagar and the valley have a delightful climate and are far more beautiful than any hill-station. Living there is much cheaper and plenty of houses and households and tents are available at cheap

4. On 12 September 1947, Jinnah founded the Quaid-i-Azam's Relief Fund for refugees.

5. The Indian forces recovered Dras, Kargil and Khalatse, three strategic positions near Zoji La on the Srinagar-Leh route, on 15, 24 and 23 November 1948 respectively.

6. The U.N. Security Council took four months to set up this Commission, the proposal for which was first accepted in a resolution of 20 January 1948. India nominated Czechoslovakia on 10 February. The Council nominated Belgium and Colombia on 23 April. On 7 May Pakistan chose Argentina and the Council nominated the United States as the fifth member of the Commission.

rates. The famous arts and crafts of Kashmir are available at very reasonable rates, much less than the usual prices. It would thus be to the advantage of visitors from the rest of India to go to Kashmir for a brief or long holiday. Owing to the development of air services the journey is a short one. The valley is quite safe from military operations. It would be desirable, therefore, to encourage visitors to go to Srinagar.

11. *Hyderabad.* There has been no improvement in the situation in Hyderabad. There is a consistent demand all over India for strong military action to be taken against Hyderabad State. India seems to have developed a military mentality. Naturally the army will be used whenever necessary. But it should be realised that military operations have to be viewed in the larger context and all possible consequences provided for. Our policy has been and is to prepare in every way and at the same time to keep the all-India position in view. We are prepared but it will be wrong for us to be hustled into action before the time is ripe for it. It is very easy to begin operations but much more difficult to stop them. We have enough commitments.

12. We are thus ready. Meanwhile we have issued orders that the type of border incidents, like the one which took place at Barsi⁷ recently, will not be tolerated and action will be taken. We are indeed going to take action in regard to Barsi.

13. We realise that there are dangers in any delay. At the same time there are also dangers in precipitate action. Provincial governments should keep a watchful eye on the borders utilising their Home Guards etc. for the purpose. The people on the borders should also be taught to organise themselves in self-defence.

14. *Communalism.* I have drawn your attention previously to the recrudescence of the communal spirit in some parts of India. The R.S.S. is again raising its head and in East Punjab there are various elements which seem to be heading for trouble. It is unsafe and unwise for us to allow these tendencies to grow strong again and I hope that provincial governments will be vigilant in this respect. The next few months may well be difficult ones and we can afford to take no risks.

15. My attention has been drawn to the fact that in one province⁸ even the Congress Seva Dal has been banned. I think that this banning business

7. A village in Barsi taluka in Maharashtra was attacked and looted by the Hyderabad forces on 27 April 1948.

8. West Bengal.

should be limited to organisations which are definitely violent in their action and objectives or communal. I should have thought that the Congress Seva Dal which is wedded to nonviolence and peaceful action certainly does not merit banning. Indeed there are other organisations too which may be left to function within certain limitations. We do not want any kind of private armies, but obviously we are not banning the Boy Scouts and peaceful volunteer organisations which do not function in military formations.

16. On the 1st of June the third session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East of the United Nations is going to meet at Ootacamund. This Commission is important from our point of view and it may be of very considerable help to India and to Asian countries. I hope to inaugurate the session and we are sending a strong delegation headed by Dr. John Matthai. I suggest that provincial governments study the proceedings of this session carefully. After the session is over we shall get in touch with them and consider what steps we might take.

17. The problem of refugees still continues to harass us and I fear that progress is slow although there are many plans which are on the verge of taking formal shape. The responsibility is largely that of the Central Government, but we must make an appeal to all provinces to help to the utmost. The main question is to find gainful employment. We have thought too much in terms of professional employment. That of course has to be done. But I think we might very well start public works of any kind chiefly to give employment even though that might be largely manual employment.

18. The question of building cheap houses expeditiously with materials readily available has assumed considerable urgency. Bricks, cement, iron and steel are expensive as well as in short supply and hence it is necessary to explore the possibilities of using cheaper and available materials. A committee of the Cabinet has been considering this and we have undertaken to experiment in the building of model houses. Some such houses are nearly ready.

19. In this connection, I should like to draw your attention to the proposal made by the Agriculture Ministry in their letter No. 3913-F/48 dated 6th May, in which it is suggested that timber, specially treated for the purpose, might be used in place of steel. We already know that such timber can be so used. This might go some way in meeting the shortage of steel.

20. There has been much reference in the press to the return to India of large numbers of Muslim evacuees. While we welcome this return as it shows

that conditions in India are better than those in Pakistan, it is obvious that a one-way traffic of this kind on any large-scale creates difficulties and problems. We want to have freedom of movement and we want to place no restrictions on the return of Muslims to their old homes. But any large-scale movement has to be checked and screened till proper arrangements can be made. In fact, ultimately there can be only two-way traffic. Delhi city has especially suffered from this one-way traffic. We are addressing the Government of Pakistan on this issue, and at the same time taking steps to screen large-scale movements.

21. In the case of Muslims, who left their homes for other parts of India temporarily in the disturbed conditions and who now have decided to return to their homes, the Custodian of Evacuee Property has been directed to use his discretion in returning the property to the evacuees.

22. Conditions on the East Bengal frontier have improved definitely as a result of the inter-Dominion conference held at Calcutta. We hope to appoint an additional High Commissioner at Dacca soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V

New Delhi
5 June 1948

My dear Premier,

I am again late in writing to you my usual letter. I was away at Ootacamund where I went to attend the opening session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

2. This E.C.A.F.E. meeting got stuck up at the beginning on a semi-political issue—the question of admitting Indonesia. The Indian delegate brought forward this proposal which seemed obvious enough from every point of view. For two valuable days there was argument about it and then it was referred to a small committee. There was in fact a majority in favour of this proposal. It was interesting to note that the countries opposed to it were the Netherlands, the U.S.A., the U.K. and France—countries which have special interests in South East Asia. Some other countries like China and the Philippines contented themselves by expressing their sympathy with Indonesia and at the same time remaining neutral. This alignment was itself significant of the kind of forces at play at this conference. The con-

ference is carrying on its work. It will no doubt produce a number of resolutions, but what is much more important is whether its work will lead to tangible results.

3. In Kashmir there has been heavy fighting on the approaches to Domel and Muzaffarabad. This fighting is continuing with our forces gradually going ahead. There is little doubt that considerable Pakistan forces are taking part in this fighting. The capture of Domel and Muzaffarabad would be of primary importance as this will give us command over the bridge over the Kishanganga river near Domel. It is over this bridge that the original raiders came in October last and their reinforcements have continued to come that way.

4. The situation in Ladakh is obscure and it appears that relatively small bodies of hostiles are roaming about and doing mischief. It has been difficult to send our forces there because it is not easy to go across the Zoji La pass even in spring. Now that weather conditions are better our forces intend taking action in the Ladakh valley.

5. You will have noticed that the Security Council of the United Nations have extended the scope of the work of their proposed Kashmir Commission to include Junagadh, genocide and some other matters.¹ This may have been done merely to dispose of these issues and without any serious thought. Nevertheless it is an act of extreme discourtesy to India to persist in this way ignoring all the protests on behalf of India. This will not make any difference to our policy which has been clearly stated before. We cannot cooperate with this Commission except on the terms stated. If it comes here, we shall, of course, meet it and place our objection before it. We have made our position perfectly clear again in a message² to the Security Council which is being released to the press.

6. The Hyderabad situation has not improved and remains confused. It is possible that in the course of the next 10 or 12 days further developments might take place. The Nizam, as usual when he is in a difficulty, has sent for Sir Walter Monckton who has just arrived. Probably the Hyderabad representatives will come to Delhi soon. We do not propose to enter into any lengthy discussions with them or to repeat what we have said so often.

1. The Council adopted this resolution on 3 June 1948 by eight votes in favour and none against; China, the U.S.S.R. and Ukraine abstained.

2. The message was sent on 5 June 1948.

7. Recently an inter-Dominion conference at secretariat level was held at Karachi to discuss the question of mutual exchange of essential commodities. I am glad to say that the conference arrived at a full agreement. Pakistan has undertaken to supply India our requirements of raw jute, raw cotton and foodgrains, and in exchange we have agreed to supply Pakistan's requirements of coal, cotton, cloth and yarn, steel, paper and mustard oil to the extent it was possible to meet these requirements considering the needs of India.

8. While inter-Dominion conferences often yield fruitful results, it cannot be said that the relations of India and Pakistan are at all happy. Both Kashmir and Hyderabad add to the prevailing tension. Recently a new development has taken place in West Punjab which is of the most serious consequence to East Punjab. The West Punjab Government are digging a new canal which may ultimately cut across an embankment and thus render the Ferozepore Headworks useless. This is not in consonance with an agreement recently arrived at between the two Dominions and, if persisted in, can only lead to very serious consequences to both sides. We are in communication with the Pakistan Government on this issue and on the 15th of this month a meeting of Indian and Pakistan Prime Ministers will take place in Delhi.

9. The rise in the prices of cotton cloth and yarn as a result of decontrol in January has been causing great concern to Government.³ The Minister for Industry and Supply has already addressed you on this subject.⁴ The situation has to be carefully watched and if it does not show any improvement fairly soon, the question of reimposition of control and the form that it should take will have to be seriously considered. Prices of cloth have gone up partly because of the rise in prices of cotton. But this is only a partial explanation and there is no doubt that profiteering on a vast scale both by industry and trade has taken place. It would appear that it is difficult to place any trust on the altruistic character of industry and trade. It is expected to call a conference of ministers of provinces in Delhi to consider this position. I trust that you will give serious thought to the problem and give the Government of India your considered advice.

10. The question arises as to what can be done not only to check profiteering but to punish those who have made abnormal profits this year. Smuggling is going on on an extensive scale between India and Pakistan. In

3. On 19 January 1948, the Government of India had decontrolled the production, the price and the distribution of cloth.

4. On 19 May 1948 S.P. Mookerjee addressed a letter to the provincial governments seeking their views on reimposition of control on price and supply of cloth.

the guise of personal luggage, bales of cloth are being brought from Ahmedabad and other places. This has become a scandal of the first magnitude and must be dealt with firmly both by the Government of India and the provincial governments.

11. The Government of India participated in the multilateral tariff negotiations and discussions which took place at Geneva and Havana with a view to reach agreement on a charter for the establishment of an international trade organisation. India also signed the final acts and the Havana Charter. An interim commission of the international trade organisation has been set up and India has a seat on the executive committee of this commission.⁵

12. The Ministry of Education have addressed all provinces regarding the difficulties being experienced by refugee students from Pakistan in securing admission in technical and professional colleges and institutions owing to their not fulfilling the conditions laid down by some of the provincial governments regarding domicile. I need hardly remind you that these refugees are our responsibility and should be given full opportunities for admission.

13. The result of the South African election has recently been announced. A party which has expressed itself brutally in regard to Indians in South Africa has captured power.⁶ This means that Indians will have a much harder time now than even previously. What they will do will no doubt be decided by them. But it may be taken for granted that the Indian struggle for equality of treatment in South Africa will not end because of the result of this election.

14. I should like to draw your special attention to certain instructions that have been issued regarding the use of the National Anthem and the National Flag. I would add that the new Emblem and crest of India, i.e., the top

5. The Havana Conference, held from 21 November 1947 to 24 March 1948 and attended by 56 countries, prepared this Charter which was signed on 24 March 1948 by all participating countries except Argentina, Poland and Turkey. Turkey signed it later. Earlier, on 20 March an interim commission was approved by fifty-two of the fifty-six governments. An executive committee comprising a chairman and eighteen members, including India, was set up to further the objectives of the Charter.

6. In the parliamentary elections in South Africa on 26 May 1948, the United Party of J.C. Smuts was defeated by the Nationalist Party of D.F. Malan, who became the Premier. The main issue in the election was "white supremacy" which the Nationalists pledged to uphold.

of the Asoka column at Sarnath, should not be used except by officers and individuals specially authorised to do so.

15. For some time past there have been rumours both in West Punjab and East Punjab and to some extent in Delhi to the effect that there might be trouble or even war between India and Pakistan. These rumours are grossly exaggerated. Nevertheless the effect of their persistence is itself disturbing. It seems that a number of people spread these rumours deliberately and in an organised way. Whatever the basis, we have to be on our guard. I hope that all provinces will keep ready to meet any emergency that might arise. Their intelligence services should especially be kept up to the mark.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

1. The Anthem and the Flag

1. The Music of the National Anthem¹

We have settled the National Flag and the official National Emblem.² We shall soon have to fix our National Anthem. It is perhaps a little difficult to finalise this matter in a hurry. But some temporary arrangements at least are necessary on the official plane as occasions arise daily when a National Anthem has to be played. This is not a matter which affects us only internally in India. Every Embassy and Legation of ours in a foreign country has to play a National Anthem on special occasions. Foreign authorities have to play our National Anthem occasionally and they want to know what to do.

2. It would perhaps be desirable to fix provisionally upon a National Anthem which can be used on all official occasions in India and abroad. Finality can be given to this sometime later after full investigation. It may be possible to find some entirely new tune or form of words, though this seems unlikely. Still we cannot rule it out.

3. The present choice seems to be between *Jana Gana Mana*³ and *Vande Mataram*.⁴ To a large extent *Jana Gana Mana* is being played today by military bands and on all official occasions, both in India and abroad. I consulted the various Governors of Provinces and asked them to confer with their Premiers. Their replies almost unanimously support *Jana Gana Mana*. The one exception is the Governor of the Central Provinces, who prefers *Vande Mataram*. The question however is not one of individual preference but of general acceptance. In this too it appears that *Jana Gana Mana* is being usually played.

4. *Vande Mataram* is of course a popular song and with it is associated the struggle for our freedom. Hence it is bound to continue as a favourite national song which revives poignant memories.

1. Note for Cabinet, 21 May 1958. File No. 2 (61)47/-PMS.
2. The National Emblem of India adopted by the Government of India on 26 January 1950 is a replica of the capital of the Asoka Pillar at Sarnath.
3. *Jana Gana Mana* was composed by Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali. It was first sung at the Calcutta Congress on 27 December 1911 and first published under the title *Bharāta Vidhata* in *Tattvabodhini Patrika* of January 1912. Out of the five stanzas, the first has been adopted for ceremonial occasions.
4. *Vande Mataram* was composed by Bankim Chandra around 1875 and later included in his novel *Anandamath*.

5. A National Anthem is, of course, a form of words, but it is even more so a tune or a musical score. It is played by orchestras and bands frequently and only very seldom sung. The music of the National Anthem is, therefore, the most important factor. It is to be full of life as well as dignity and it should be capable of being effectively played by orchestras, big and small, and by military bands and pipes. It is to be played not only in India but abroad and should be such as is generally appreciated in both these places. *Jana Gana Mana* appears to satisfy these tests. During the past few months it has been played very often by various orchestras and bands in India and sometimes in foreign countries. Whenever it has been played it has been appreciated. There is no standardised version of it at present, but there are about a dozen slightly varying versions approximating to one another. A.I.R. have got many of these versions recorded and they have broadcasted them from time to time. Probably the best present version is the one played by the Patiala State Military Band. The London Philharmonic Society has been asked to render *Jana Gana Mana* in three ways: full orchestra, string orchestra and military band. The London Philharmonic is one of the finest institutions of its kind and they are likely to produce something that is good. In order that it may not become too western in conception an expert Indian musician is advising them. It should be possible for us to evolve a standardised version so far as the music is concerned.

6. Normally the Anthem is played for about 45 seconds or at the most a minute. It is this short playing that has to be prepared and the essential features of the tune are to be brought within that compass.

7. *Vande Mataram* for all its beauty and history is not an easy tune for orchestral or band rendering. It is rather plaintive and mournful and repetitive. It is particularly difficult for foreigners to appreciate it as a piece of music. It has not got those peculiar distinctive features which *Jana Gana Mana* has. It represents very truthfully the period of our struggle in longing and not so much the fulfilment thereof in the future.

8. As regards the language and words they should obviously be fairly simple. The language of *Vande Mataram* is very difficult for the average person. *Jana Gana Mana* is simpler though it is capable of improvement and some changes are necessary in the present context. An attempt can be made to simplify the language and make it more suitable for our use to-day. But for the present words and language are less important than the music and the tune.

9. *Jana Gana Mana* owes part of its present popularity to the use which was made of a variation of it by the I.N.A.⁵ Bearing all these considerations in mind, I suggest that we might provisionally accept *Jana Gana Mana* as the National Anthem which should be played on all suitable occasions. This general decision having been taken, an effort should be made to standardise it, more specially that small part which is to be normally played. This process is already going on and it could be finalised within two or three months. An attempt should also be made by competent persons to change a few words here and there so as to make it simple Hindustani. It has also been suggested that instead of Sind, Assam might be included in the list of provinces mentioned in it. Once a general musical rendering of it has been accepted provisionally, the rest will follow and we shall have something immediately for official use.

10. It should be understood that any decision taken now is definitely provisional and subject to change if this is considered necessary later.

11. Some indication will have to be given as to the suitable occasions when a national anthem has to be played. There can be no compulsion in this matter, but official advice is likely to be followed. For instance, I think it is undesirable for the National Anthem to be played after every cinema performance when people are shuffling out and little respect is shown to the Anthem. It is not the normal practice in most countries for the national anthem to be played at the conclusion of cinema performances. On special occasions of course they can play it. This will add to the dignity of the Anthem. It should not be made too cheap.

12. It has been suggested, and I agree with this, that the National Flag should be shown on the screen flying at the end of cinema performances.

5. In November 1943 Subhas Chandra Bose along with Abid Hasan translated the original version of *Jana Gana Mana* into Hindustani to make it faster and more martial to match the needs of the I.N.A. Its music was scored by Captain Ram Singh.

2. Restricted Use of the Flag¹

I have consulted the Governors and Premiers of Provinces as well as other people. There is general agreement that the unrestricted use of the Flag should not be approved of. In the past during our struggle for freedom it was necessary and desirable to use this on all occasions. But now the normal method of using the Flag, as in other countries, should prevail.

2. The use of the Flag has therefore to be restricted to special occasions, special persons and special buildings. The question to consider is what these restrictions should be and what these special occasions, persons and buildings are. Governors and Premiers have been consulted and their suggestions are generally embodied in the proposals below. It might be added however that it is not intended to punish anyone for not falling in line with the advice of Government in this matter. That advice will go a long way.

i. Normally the Flag should be flown on special government buildings, such as High Courts, Secretariats, Commissioners' offices and the Collectorates, offices of the District Boards and Municipalities. Also on the residences of the Governors and Ministers, both Central and Provincial. At present the Governors have special flags of their own. This practice may be continued.

ii. Flying of Flags should be confined to cars of Governors, Ministers and Speakers.

iii. In frontier areas the Flag may be flown on special places.

iv. India's representatives in foreign countries and States should fly the Flag at their residences and on their cars.

The use of the Flag by the Army, Navy and the Air Force will be governed by special rules made for the purpose. Ruling Princes may also use the Flag on their residences and cars together with their own State flags if they so choose.

On special occasions like the Independence Day celebrations, National Week, January 26th, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, as well as any other particular day of national rejoicing, an unrestricted use of the Flag may be permitted.

These provisional rules may be approved of for public information. It would be open to the Government to vary or add to these rules on experience.

1. Note to the Cabinet, 21 May 1948. J.N. Collection.

3. Instructions on the Anthem¹

...5. The following note should be sent by you to various ministries, provincial governments, embassies and the three defence services. It should be sent separately to Governors and Premiers. It should be marked confidential.

The question of having a formal National Anthem has assumed a certain urgency. It is not desirable to have a variety in this matter. Our foreign embassies specially request instructions. In foreign countries an anthem is played on many occasions and we have been asked by the authorities in these foreign countries as to what our anthem is.

The Government of India considered this matter. They feel that any final decision should be taken by the Constituent Assembly itself. But some interim arrangements have to be made for the playing of an anthem even before a final decision is taken. For this purpose they approved of the growing practice to play *Jana Gana Mana* on all occasions when a National Anthem is required. Provincial governments, embassies and legations, and the three defence services are therefore requested to note this provisional direction and to give effect to it.

The National Anthem must not be played for more than about 45 seconds or one minute. It should be standardised. It should only be played on special occasions and not made to appear too cheap. When it is played respect should be shown to it by standing without moving about.

All India Radio have several versions of *Jana Gana Mana* supplied by various bands and orchestras. While they represent the same tune they vary slightly. This will be standardised soon. Meanwhile a famous orchestra has been asked to produce a suitable version for orchestral rendering as well as string band and military band.

As has been suggested above, the Anthem should not be played except on special occasions. It is undesirable for cinema houses or theatres to play it after each performance and this should be definitely discouraged. It should be suggested to cinema houses that at the end of the performances the National Flag should be shown on the screen and the Anthem should not be played, except on special days and on special occasions.

6. A.I.R. should be requested to broadcast some brief rendering of *Jana Gana Mana* frequently so as to popularise it. The rendering should not last more than one minute....

4. To B. C. Roy¹

New Delhi
15th June 1948

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June.²

I am glad to learn that the situation as between East and West Bengal has improved. I hope we will evolve some system of checking satisfactorily the smuggling and blackmarketeering.

As regards *Jana Gana Mana*, the question of National Anthem will no doubt be decided by the Constituent Assembly. There is no question of some Muslims objecting to *Vande Mataram*. That has not influenced many people here, but many of us, and I feel strongly about it, think that in the present context *Vande Mataram* is completely unsuited as a national anthem. It is and it will continue to be a national song which is intimately connected with our struggle for freedom and which will be revered accordingly. But a national anthem is something different from a song which represents the struggle and the longing which *Vande Mataram* so powerfully represents. A national anthem should be something of victory and fulfilment, not of past struggle.

A national anthem is chiefly music and not words. It has to be music which has a lilt about it and which can be played satisfactorily all over the world. In fact it is played more in other countries than in the home country. Every embassy of ours has to play it, foreign offices and embassies have to play it. *Jana Gana Mana* has come into prominence as such without any effort on our part to begin with. It was played at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel last October before an international gathering. This was at the time of the United Nations meeting. It produced a sensation and the representatives of the foreign nations said that it was one of the finest things as a national anthem they had heard. There was a tremendous demand for it among Americans as well as many others who were present. When we heard these we asked for records, and on receiving these we suggested that Army bands should practise it. Immediately it became popular with the Army and it is now regularly played by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force on occasions when a national anthem is played.

We have consulted numerous eminent musicians including some of the biggest orchestra conductors in foreign countries. *Vande Mataram* does not

1. File No. 2 (61)/47-PMS.

2. Roy did not favour *Jana Gana Mana* being selected as the National Anthem because he felt that political India had grown round Bankim Chandra's *Vande Mataram* and that people had suffered and died for the sentiments contained in the song. He favoured *Vande Mataram* as National Anthem even if some Muslims were opposed to it.

yield itself to good orchestration or to military playing. *Jana Gana Mana* has an ideal lilt about it which is greatly approved.

When rather automatically *Jana Gana Mana* began to get popular for military and other playing, I wrote to all the Governors and Premiers about it and asked them what their views were. With one or two exceptions all plumped for *Jana Gana Mana* and most of them said that this was popular in their provinces.

It was at this stage that we considered it in Cabinet here and decided that *Jana Gana Mana* should be provisionally used as a National Anthem till such time as a final decision is made. The matter was urgent and some provisional decision had to be given because there are so many official occasions in India and abroad when something has to be played as a national anthem. Repeated demands came to us and we had to give an answer.

I should like to repeat that it is the tune of the anthem not so much the words. So far as I can see the *Vande Mataram* does not fulfil this essential qualification although I believe some people are of opinion that it does. From the point of view of the foreign countries it is undoubtedly a flop. Whether *Jana Gana Mana* is adopted or not I doubt very much if *Vande Mataram* could be adopted.

As for the words *Vande Mataram* contains language which most people do not understand. Certainly, I do not understand it.

I am surprised to read what you write about the National Flag.³ We have sent full instructions about it to your Government. We want to restrict its use as in other countries.

As Surendra Mohan Ghosh is willing to go as Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca we shall take steps accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Roy wrote that he did not understand what Nehru had said about the National Flag and its use.

5. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
21 June 1948

My dear Dr. Mookerjee,

I have your letter of the 20th June about the National Anthem. I do not think there is any misunderstanding on the subject.² Our decision was that *Jana Gana Mana* should be used officially as an Anthem till such time as a final decision is made by the Constituent Assembly. It is imperative that some directions be issued for our embassies and our defence forces specially as well as our government houses. There cannot be a variety of anthems being played. Even this provisional decision was made after long consultation with provinces and a great deal of practice by the military bands.

So far as I can remember the only protest has come from Bengal. As a matter of fact the then Governor presumably after consulting his Prime Minister wrote strongly in favour of *Jana Gana Mana*. I have written fully on the subject to Dr. B.C. Roy.

There is thus no question of our issuing any statement of the kind you have drafted. If a statement has to be issued, it would entirely be different. I might mention that as decided in the Cabinet, we had given no publicity to our decision. We have merely communicated it to provincial governments and the defence services. Publicity has been given by the Bengal Government.

Personally I do not think *Vande Mataram* is at all feasible as a national anthem chiefly because of its tune which does not suit orchestral or band rendering. Our National Anthem has to be played by foreign orchestra all over the world. *Jana Gana Mana*, on the other hand, has already been greatly appreciated in foreign countries as well as in India and the music of it has a great appeal to people who hear it in India or abroad. *Vande Mataram* is of course intimately connected with our entire national struggle and we are all emotionally attached to it and will continue to be so attached. It will in any event remain as a famous national song but I personally think that a song which represents poignant longing for freedom is not necessarily a song which fits in with the achievement of freedom. *Jana Gana Mana* has an element of triumph and fulfilment about it. But the main consideration is the music.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (61)/47-PMS.

2. Mookerjee had said that in view of strong feelings being expressed in several quarters over the Cabinet's provisional decision to adopt *Jana Gana Mana* as the National Anthem, a press statement should be issued to explain the Government's attitude.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

II. The Economy

1. The Congress Economic Programme and Government Policy¹

It appears to me that not only in this Committee but in the country as a whole, people talk much of Mahatma Gandhi's ideology and shout about it to the uttermost.

But in the last few months, in many matters of importance to which Gandhiji devoted his life, large numbers of people, calling themselves Congressmen, have opposed him in his very basic ideology—in matters such as intercommunal unity, language and many other matters. They have every right to oppose him. But let us not talk of Mahatma Gandhi's ideology only when it suits us.

The personnel of the proposed Standing Committee is the same as that which had drafted the economic programme resolution of the Congress minus some people who have gone out.² Fundamentally, it is the same committee and we stick to it.

I cannot understand what people mean by demanding that the personnel of the committee ought to be more radical.³ Many who are considered to be radical are very reactionary. And the most reactionary people are the Communists, because the test of radicalism is not merely to shout about it. Therefore, let us not indulge in loose language. Such language helps nobody.

The economic programme of the Congress⁴ presents a rough picture of the type of society which the A.I.C.C. would like to have in the country, and I feel that the A.I.C.C. was right in approving of it. The programme is not a detailed programme, because details cannot be worked out with-

1. Speech at the A.I.C.C. session at Bombay on 25 April 1948 on the report of the Economic Programme Committee. From *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times*, 26 April 1948.
2. The Economic Programme Committee was appointed in November 1947 with Nehru, Azad, Jayaprakash Narayan, N.G. Ranga, Gulzarilal Nanda, J.C. Kumarappa, Achyut Patwardhan and Shankarrao Deo as members. After the Socialists, Jayaprakash Narayan and Achyut Patwardhan, left the Congress, the A.I.C.C. appointed on 25 April 1948 a Standing Committee to consider the implementation of the economic programme with Nehru as chairman and N.G. Ranga, Gulzarilal Nanda, J.C. Kumarappa, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Shankarrao Deo, Annada Prasad Choudhry, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jagjivan Ram as members.
3. Ansar Harvani wanted representatives of kisans, trade unions and political groups among the co-opted members of the Standing Committee.
4. The Economic Programme Sub-Committee of the A.I.C.C. submitted its report on 25 January 1948 which was endorsed by the A.I.C.C. on 22 February 1948. The report recommended nationalisation of defence industries, state-ownership of new key and public utility industries and nationalisation of existing undertakings in five years. However, transition to public ownership should avoid dislocation of economy, fall in production, uneconomic acquisition of assets and diversion of resources.

out trial and error. Therefore, what is proposed at present is to have the programme specifically approved by the A.I.C.C. in its aims and objectives. The filling in of details is a matter which can best be done by experts.

Government as it is constituted today is bound to follow the clearly enunciated policy of the A.I.C.C. Obviously, the Government of today at the Centre, as well as many provincial governments, are creatures of this organisation. But, at the same time, you cannot run a government by dictating to it every little bit of detail.⁵ Therefore, only a broad policy is laid down by the A.I.C.C.

Part of the A.I.C.C.'s economic programme deals with the industrial policy. The Government of India's declaration of policy deals only with the industrial sphere. If one compares the Government's industrial policy with what is enunciated in the Congress economic programme, one would find that they are the same. But the Government's policy lays down what it proposes to do here and now or in the near future. But in the long-term policy, the Government must follow the broad picture presented by the A.I.C.C.'s economic programme. The Government's plan must not go counter to the A.I.C.C.'s directive.

The Government proposes to appoint a Planning Commission. It has already indicated what it proposes to do immediately. The Government plan might not come up fully to the expectation of many members but I assure the House that it will keep in view the objectives that the A.I.C.C. has placed before it.

There is not much divergence of thought between the A.I.C.C. Economic Sub-Committee's report and the Government's industrial policy. Whereas the Government has allowed a period of ten years for nationalisation of certain industries, the Congress Sub-Committee's report has suggested five years. The difference of five years is certainly not very vital.

In this business of nationalising, one fact which we should remember is that nothing is static and the economic system which now exists is bound to change. But we have become static in our outlook. We follow economic theories based on facts of 50 or 60 years ago.

The main thing is that productive techniques and the productive apparatuses are rapidly changing and the present methods of production are becoming out of date and obsolescent. If that is so, a far-seeing government does not expend its resources on acquiring industries which are bound to become obsolescent. On the other hand, it would devote its resources to developing industries of the very latest type.

Nationalising all existing industries would swallow all our resources and the industries would be completely out of date a few years hence.

5. Shankarrao Deo had said that the Government's industrial policy should be in accord with the A.I.C.C. report.

Therefore, in the governmental policy there is nothing in conflict, nothing in fact that is not generally in line, with what is indicated here by the A.I.C.C. programme. I, therefore, urge that the resolution be adopted without any change.⁶

6. After a short discussion, the resolution was passed.

2. Need to Increase Food Production¹

Victory in war is much more important than winning a battle. The country has been able to avert a catastrophe on the food front, but difficulties still remain and there must be no slackening of our efforts, because the level of subsistence is very low.

The solution of many of our problems depends upon increased food production. For some reason or the other, enough attention and energy has not been paid in the past towards the realisation of this end which has never been in dispute.

We have in hand the execution of many major irrigation projects, but the results of these will be available only after some years. But there are many ways of increasing the production by more concerted effort.

During the past few months we have faced many difficulties on the food front and have surmounted them successfully, partly because nature helped us, but mainly because we helped ourselves.² Provinces and States cooperated in a splendid manner, which is a matter of great significance in the solution of other national problems.

I congratulate the Food Minister who has worked hard and achieved very substantial results during the last few months.³

1. Address to the Conference of Provincial Premiers and Food Ministers, New Delhi, 28 April 1948. Based on reports in *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 29 April 1948.
2. Faced with a grave food situation due to the failure of the monsoon in 1947, the Government imported over 280,000 tons of foodgrains at a cost of Rs. 1300 million and moved them to deficit areas. This was in addition to 476,000 tons procured from internal sources.
3. Jairamdas Doulatram, the Food Minister, had (a) signed the International Wheat Agreement, which assured India of a substantial quantity of wheat at a low rate; (b) secured a steady flow of rice from Burma at the rate of 130,000 tons a month; and (c) succeeded in building up a central food reserve of 100,000 tons which was to increase to 400,000 tons by the end of June 1948.

3. To R. S. Shukla¹

New Delhi
9 June 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

I enclose a confidential report which Dr. Nandlal Sharma has given to me. Nandlal is an enthusiastic young man who was asked by Gandhiji to carry on certain work. A man like him should be given full opportunities to do this work. It is obvious that your Government did want to give him these opportunities, but apparently local officials did not cooperate. This business of lack of cooperation from local officials is a constant danger and obstruction which we have all to experience. I shall be glad if you will kindly look into this matter and see to it that this young man gets the opportunity to work according to his wishes. I am not competent enough to pass an opinion on his general proposals but I do know that much importance is attached in other countries now to this kind of work. Even if results are ten per cent, or what they are claimed to be by Nandlal Sharma, it would mean a great increase in our agricultural production.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

4. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
16 June 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th June.

You refer to the sympathy shown by certain Muslims in Bihar towards the Nizam of Hyderabad, to *Anjumans* being formed and also to funds being collected for defending the accused in the Gandhi murder trial. It is a little difficult to deal with vague sympathy. But any outward display of it in favour of the enemies of India cannot be tolerated. I hope that whenever such outward display takes place, your Government will take action.

About your Zamindari Liquidation Act² and the Finance Department's

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Bihar Acquisition of Zamindari Bill, passed in April 1948, was awaiting the Governor-General's assent. It had evoked considerable debate regarding compensation.

letters sent to you, it may be quite true that the Finance Department does not like the measure for various reasons. But apart from these reasons, the Finance Department is certainly concerned with the effect on money market of any step that might be taken. I am afraid your Government did not pay enough attention to the future steps and to the problem of giving compensation before it decided on the first step. Grave difficulties are bound to arise. However, it is obvious that the liquidation of the Zamindari system has to be proceeded with. There can be and should be no going back. But I suggest to you to discuss the question and manner of payment of compensation with our financial experts who might be able to help you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Economic Problem as a Whole¹

I am alarmed and distressed at the deteriorating economic situation in the country. Our minds are naturally full of the problems of Hyderabad and Kashmir and Pakistan. But at the back of all this and perhaps even more important than anything else is the economic problem which ultimately governs other matters.

2. We have tried to tackle it in a piecemeal way. We have declared our industrial policy. We have proclaimed an industrial truce after the tripartite conference at which labour, employers and the Government were represented.² We have removed controls and we have done many other things. And yet the cost of living index goes up and up to dangerous heights and that surely is the red signal.³ After the decontrol of cloth, it was natural that prices should go up. Still no one expected them to go up to the fantastic heights which they reached. Smuggling of cloth and other articles has been taking place on a vast scale. Corruption is rampant.

1. Note to Cabinet Ministers, 26 June 1948. File No. 37 (114)/54-PMS.
2. The ninth session of the Indian Labour Conference was held in New Delhi from 19 to 21 April 1948. It recommended implementation of the industrial truce.
3. The general price index rose steeply by 80 points between August 1947 and June 1948. The price index of food articles rose from 297.8 in August 1947 to 377 in June 1948 and that of manufactured articles rose from 280.2 to 366.6 for the same period.

3. All this is no doubt partly the legacy of the War. Most countries suffered likewise during the War but many of them have pulled themselves up. Among the notable examples of countries which have pulled themselves up by their economic policy, discipline and hard work is Great Britain. In India the pulling up process has not been much in evidence in spite of our earnest efforts.

4. It is obvious that we cannot go on watching passively the cost of living index ever going up higher. That affects the whole of our internal structure and leads to continuous industrial disputes and lowering of production.

5. The industrial truce has not been very successful thus far and I understand that some of its important clauses are giving rise to heated debate and argument and different interpretations.

6. The entire Cabinet is naturally responsible for all this and must find a way out. But when the whole Cabinet is jointly responsible and no special person has to watch the various aspects of economic policy, the result is that enough attention is not paid to important matters. Nor can the picture be seen in its entirety. Various Ministers deal with various problems and consider the economic aspects of those problems. No one is supposed to look upon the problem in its entirety. Some time back we appointed an Economic Committee of the Cabinet. This committee did not produce any satisfactory results and we continued to remain where we were.

7. Even in regard to our economic relations with Pakistan there is no clear picture. The conflict in Hyderabad also must necessarily produce certain economic consequences. We are not sending our goods there and presumably they will not send their goods to India. I do not know if anyone has considered yet the result of this on our economy. Thus, for instance, large quantity of groundnuts come to India from Hyderabad State. If this is stopped in the future, how does it affect us and how do we propose to get over this difficulty? This is a minor example.

8. I suppose we shall be considering soon the whole question of cloth prices and even the question of controls which have recently been removed.⁴ It is essential that we do so. But the problem has to be viewed in a wider context. I have a feeling that we have not succeeded adequately and we shall

4. On 21 January 1948 the Government had decided to decontrol cloth but as this resulted in spiralling prices, the reimposition of some controls had to be considered.

not succeed to any large extent unless we deal with this economic problem as a whole and unless our approach to it is basically different from what it has been. Before we can even think in terms of a new policy we should have a full appreciation of the situation as well as suggested remedies. At the present moment while there are many useful papers being produced giving certain important data we do not get a wide enough survey and adequate data.

9. I am sending this note to my colleagues in the Cabinet in order to invite them to think of these problems so that we may discuss them fully at an early meeting of the Cabinet. What troubles me chiefly is not only our lack of success in tackling these problems but even more our lacking in planned outlook for the future. We go from step to step in various directions not having any clear objective.

10. It is unfortunate that the Finance Minister is not here at present because he has most to do with these problems. But we need not wait for his return before we have an initial discussion. That discussion itself may perhaps lead us into new avenues of thought and then later when we have another discussion the Finance Minister might be present and we can come to some fruitful decisions.

6. A Planned Outlook for the Future¹

The Prime Minister drew attention to the note² circulated by him to Ministers regarding the economic situation in the country. He was of the opinion that so far economic problems had been considered by the Government piecemeal, and that unless these problems were considered as a whole the position would not improve. He therefore invited the Ministers to think over the problems involved so that they might be discussed fully at a subsequent meeting of the Cabinet. A planned outlook for the future appeared to be very necessary.

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 29 June 1948. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

2. See the preceding item.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

III. Industry

1. Industrial Policy¹

Sir, I must apologise to the House for not having been present here throughout this debate, but sometimes the claims of other works are heavy. I would have liked to have been here throughout because I am vastly interested in this subject and I should have liked to hear what members have said. I understand that many of the members have commended this resolution² and spoken in praise of it or in satisfaction of it at least, that some have not liked it, and that some have disliked it intensely.³ I am glad of that difference of opinion, and I am sorry if any of the honourable members should feel that he should suppress his own opinion on such a vital matter because of some whip or some other direction of the party executive.⁴

I have myself been concerned with the theoretical aspects of planning for a fairly considerable time. I realise that there is a great deal of difference between the theory of it and the practice of it; as in almost everything in life the theory is full of poetry as, if I may say so, was the speech of my honourable colleague, the mover of the resolution,⁵ but when we come down to applying that poetry all manner of difficulties crop up. Normally, there would be those difficulties but, as we are situated today, with the peculiar situation of India after all that has happened in the course of the last seven or eight months, one has to be very careful of what step one might take which might not injure the existing structure too much. There has been destruction and injury enough, and certainly I confess to this House that I am not brave and gallant enough to go about destroying much more. I think there is room for destruction in India still of many things—they will no doubt have to be removed; nevertheless, there is a way of approach. Are we going to

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), 7 April 1948, on a motion regarding the industrial policy of the Government. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. V, 1948, pp. 3417-3422.
2. The resolution embodying the Government's industrial policy was placed before the Constituent Assembly on 6 April 1948. Reserving to itself full control over munitions, atomic energy and railways, the Central Government also listed six industries in which it would have exclusive rights to establish new undertakings; but the question of nationalisation of existing concerns in these industries would be postponed for ten years. Eighteen industries which would be subject to central regulation were listed. The development of cottage industries and the question of industrial relations were also covered.
3. K.T. Shah criticised the resolution as falling short of the goals of socialisation. He argued that the worst enterprises had been left for the state and the best ones for the capitalists, that there was no mention of a limit on profits, and that no equality of opportunity could exist, given vast disparities in income.
4. K.T. Shah had said that, if the terror of the whip was not applied and the House was left free to express its opinion, the resolution would stand condemned.
5. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Minister for Industry and Supply.

adopt the course of having a clean slate or sweeping away almost everything so that we might have the pleasure of writing anew, without anything else being written on that slate? That seems to be an easy way of doing things, though perhaps there never has been a clean slate even when people imagined that there was going to be a clean slate.

Nevertheless, there can be more or less a clean slate; I will not say that one should never try for that clean slate. But one has to think of each country and its condition at the time and see which is the preferable course, which involves lesser dangers. It seems to me that in the state of affairs in the world today and in India, any attempt to have what might be called a clean slate, that is to say a sweeping away of all that we have got, would certainly not bring progress nearer but might delay it tremendously, which far from bringing economic progress may put us politically so far back that the economic aspect itself may be delayed tremendously. We cannot separate these two things. We have gone through big political upheavals and cataclysms and if in our attempt to get something that we liked, to go forward one step in one direction, we lose a few steps in another, then in the balance we have lost, not gained. Therefore, the alternative to that clean slate is to try to rub out here and there and to write on it, gradually to replace the writing on the whole slate—not very gradually, I hope, but nevertheless not with a great measure of destruction and strain. May be I have been affected by recent events, but more and more I have felt that it is wrong to destroy something that is producing or doing good. It takes a long time to build and it does not take very long to destroy, so that if this House and this country thinks that we should proceed ahead in a constructive spirit much more than in a destructive spirit, then that approach necessarily has to be different. What your ideals may be is another matter, but even in the realization of those ideals do you think that the easiest way of approach will be a clean sweep and then starting anew, or to replace as rapidly as possible and as fast as you can, with your available resources and material, the existing structure with a new one? I have no doubt in my mind that we have to change this existing structure and as rapidly as possible.

I was listening to the honourable member who just spoke before me I was listening to his laments of the burdens that are put on industry, of taxation and of this and that.⁶ The fact of the matter is that that lament is based on a certain view of the world which I fear cannot possibly come back. I am not thinking in idealistic terms but just in practical terms; you cannot have it back. There are going to be greater burdens on industry because the state itself is burdened so much with its social problems; it has to solve them or cease to be a social state, and if it just becomes a police state then it ceases

6. J.P. Srivastava had criticised the taxation structure and said it was impossible to secure capital for any industry. Many markets had been lost to industry and neither the United States nor Britain nor any other country was anxious to provide capital goods.

to be and some other state takes it place. It has to face its problems, and if it is to do that it must necessarily get the wherewithal to face those problems, and the burden on industry or the like becomes greater and greater. In fact, not because you think or I think or anybody thinks, but inevitably the trend of events is to make the state more and more the organiser of constructive industry etc. and not the private capitalist or any other person. That is just quite inevitable so far as I can see objectively. I do not rule out entirely the profit motives; I do not know how long it will last in a smaller sense, but in the larger sense of the term it will come more and more into conflict with the new sense of the social state. That conflict will go on and one must survive, and it is clear that the state will survive, not that group which represents in its pure essence the profit motive in industry. That is an inevitable development. How are you to face that development? Are you then again to try to accelerate it as many of us would like to do, because quite apart from the economic aspect, the expert aspect, we have arrived at another stage which I trust every sensitive man feels somewhat, a psychological view of looking at things. That is that sensitive people cannot put up easily today with the vast gap between human beings, the distance between them, the difference between them, the lack of opportunities on the one side and the waste on the other.

It seems so vulgar, and vulgarity is the worst thing that a country or individual should support. We are arriving at a stage which cannot tolerate it. It was not, if I may say so, vulgar 50 or 100 years ago. Although the profit motive was functioning very strongly and although there was probably greater suffering then, nevertheless the approach was different. Perhaps the sense of social values was different. But, in the context of the world today, it is becoming increasingly not only a wrong thing from the economic point of view, but a vulgar thing, from any sensitive point of view. So, those changes are bound to come.

How then are you going to bring about those changes? As I said, I would much rather bring them about without deliberate destruction and obstruction, because the destruction and obstruction, whatever the future may bring after them, they undoubtedly lead to a stoppage of growth at present. They stop production. They stop wealth-producing activities. One has the satisfaction of being able to do something afterwards more rapidly, no doubt, but it is not such a certain thing that afterwards you will be able to do so rapidly. One has, therefore, to compromise much. Although I hate the word compromise in this context or in any context, one has simply to do it, if one does not stick to with some kind of a notion in one's head without thinking about it.

That brings us to a transitional stage of economy. Call it what you like—"mixed economy" or anything else. It brings us to doing things in such a way as to continually add to the wealth of the country and to add not only

to the wealth of the country as a whole but to the distribution of that wealth in the country and gradually arrive at a stage when the centre of gravity of the whole economy has shifted the other way. Now, I rather doubt myself whether it is possible, without a conflict or without repeated conflicts, to bring about these changes quite peacefully, because the people who are used to possessing certain vested interests or certain ideas do not easily accept new ideas and nobody likes to give up what he has got; at least no groups like it; individuals sometimes do. The conflicts are continually arising, but the point is that even those conflicts are rather foolish conflicts, if I may say so, because those conflicts cannot stop the trend of events. They may delay, and in delaying, the result is probably that those who hold on to those vested interests get even a worse deal at the end.

Now, there is another aspect which I should like the House to consider and that is this. It is an odd thing that many of our most ardent revolutionaries, who think in terms of an idealistic world, are quite extraordinarily conservative in their scientific approach to the world's problems. If I may explain myself, I have used the word "scientific" in its narrow sense. Most of our friends—Socialists or the Communists—continually think in terms of production remaining as it is in respect of the technique of production and the methods of production. Of course, they will not admit that. They will say: "No. It is changing." But, nevertheless, they base their programmes more or less on a static world and not on a continually changing world with new methods of production, new techniques of production, etc. They think in terms, for instance, of changing the land system. Perfectly right, because the fundamental thing is that the feudal land system should go before you build another society. So far quite right; change the land system. They think in terms of acquiring industries, because a socialist economy means that big industries or even all of them should be owned by the state. Well, quite good. But they do not think so much in terms of the vast changes in productive methods that are coming about, which may render the present industrial apparatus or even the methods adopted in the cultivation of land completely obsolescent and obsolete. They say: "Why don't you acquire this or that? They want to spend vast sums of money over acquiring things which are 90 per cent obsolete. In fact, from the point of view of technological advance, it may well be a complete waste of money to acquire obsolete machinery, factories and other things that may be there. It is true they are useful so long as new factories and new technological methods are not introduced, and if you have a vast quantity of money and resources, certainly acquire them and go ahead with other things. But if you have limited resources, then the main thing to do is not to go about thinking in terms of a static technology, but of a changing technology, thinking in terms of the state acquiring the new processes, the new changes, and not so much of the old, except when the old obstructs, when the old hampers your planning and progress.

Now, obviously, constituted as we are in India, we have not got unlimited resources. We have to think hard where to get the money; how to get the money; how to get the other resources—technical and other. If so, there has to be a certain kind of priority about what work we do. Even if you start acquiring things—suppose we decide to acquire a large number of industries—and you pass this resolution, I am quite sure when we work it out, actually in practice, it will take a good deal of time to take them one by one. However rapidly you may do it, it takes a little time, unless of course it is by the process of the “clean slate” where you sweep an old thing away and build a new one on it. Therefore, even if you think of doing that, you have to think in terms of priorities; which industry should first be liquidated, which service etc.; one after the other, provide the money; provide the organisation; provide the technical personnel etc. etc. So it takes time. Much more so when you have to think in terms of additional industry and new industry, new schemes plus old schemes. You have to think in terms of priorities: which must come first. I have no doubt in my mind that the priority for state enterprises must be in terms of new things as far as possible unless the old things come in the way.

I attach the greatest importance today to, let us say, the great river valley projects and schemes that have been framed, the first one of which, the Damodar Valley scheme, has passed through this legislature and others are coming up soon.⁷ I think they are far more important than almost all your existing industries. Here is something new that you are building out of nothing; new land is being brought under cultivation, many new things are being created out of the enormous power produced out of the river valley projects. Now, I want that to be completely state controlled, but run, as is stated in this resolution, on the model of a public corporation.⁸ I do hope that the public corporation that is going to be established is not going to be a departmentally run organisation, but either wholly or more or less an independent organisation. I do hope that it is not going to be run by the people who have worked in the ruts of the departments, but by persons of vision, push and drive; not the people who write on files but who do the work. Now, regarding these vast river valley schemes, of which you have got enormous ones, all the resources of India are not enough to push them through quickly. Am I going to allow those to remain undone and delay them and think in terms of acquiring a tramway system or something else here and there? Let the tramway system be acquired, if you like; but I do not want to give first priority to the tramway system or some such thing.

7. The Dominion Parliament passed the Damodar Valley Corporation Bill on 12 February 1948.

8. The resolution stated that the management of state enterprises would, as a rule, be through public corporations under the statutory control of the Central Government.

Now, in this resolution which has been placed before you, various lists are given—list No. 1, list No. 2, etc.—as to what Government proposes to do, and has done. There these river valley projects are mentioned rather casually. But remember what that casual mention means.⁹

It means that the state is undertaking vast enterprises all over the country which will govern the industry of this country and all your acquisition and the rest will be secondary and minor. These river valley systems are controlled by the state and they will control the economy and industry of the country completely. If you get a grip over all these things, then the process becomes swifter, but if we simply lay down rather fancy schemes then we never come to grips with any particular part of it, and really we are not advancing at all except on paper and in theory. Therefore, from the poetry of rather vague planning in air, we have to come down to the prose of the statement. Because it is a prosaic statement, therefore, there is very little poetry in it except the poetry of my honourable friend who made the speech at the beginning. It is definitely a prosaic statement; it is meant to be a prosaic statement; the House knows it was not difficult to put in fine flourishes of language in a resolution of this kind which would have sounded so nice for the public and which would without conveying any commitment have pleased the ear and the eye and produced a general impression how fine we were. Well, we have very deliberately not done so, because we want to make it a prosaic statement of what we think we ought to do and we can do in the relatively near future and how far we can do it. How much we cannot do depends upon a multitude of factors, but, at any rate, this is a thing which is meant to be done, not a thing which is meant to be flourished about as a kind of election programme before the public.

The tempo will depend on so many factors. I mentioned these river valley schemes, because I attach the greatest importance to them. Now suppose the Damodar Valley Scheme is a thundering success, that is a bigger thing from the state's point of view, from the point of views of industrialisation and from many other points of view, than the fact that this House has passed half a dozen other schemes which are not functioning. So it is the first steps that count, the first things; if we start an industry under state auspices let us make it a thorough success instead of going to acquire this and that and making a mess of many things. Of course, once you have laid a good foundation, it will be easy for you to go ahead.

Now it is obvious that this Government or this House may pass this resolution, may lay down the periods of time as to what will happen five or ten or fifteen years hence, but the fact of the matter is that we are living

9. The river valley projects were described as "calculated in a short time to change the entire face of large areas of India."

In an age of very swift change and transition and nobody can guarantee what will happen and when it will happen; nobody can guarantee whether there will be war or peace and nobody can guarantee what will happen even if there is peace because things change rapidly in India. We have lived during the last eight months on the verge of rapid change and very undesirable and unhealthy change in many respects. Nevertheless when we say ten years, we mean it, that is as we see things at present—and we say ten years because, so far as we can see, the state's hands will be completely full. It is not merely to give an assurance, although we wish to give an assurance to all working industries so that they may be able to function properly, but fundamentally we have got enough to do and we want to do it thoroughly; but whether I give an assurance or the House gives it ultimately events will determine the pace. Events may go faster or slower; events may break up our economy or something may happen, not only that, but a hundred and one things may happen.

When we are told—and I suppose it is a fact—that capital is shy and it does not come in, that we cannot get capital for private industry or public loans, etc., it is a fact. Well, that too I imagine is due more to these changing conditions than to anything that we might do or anybody else might not do. For this the industrialist or capitalist himself will have to see whether he is too wary and too afraid of investing his capital if he is then well and good. It is obvious that the country cannot stand by. We should give a fair field and a fair chance to the industrialist to go ahead with a certain domain and if he does not, we should go ahead as we cannot see things mismanaged or not managed because he is afraid that he won't get enough profit or something that might happen. The people cannot wait. We give a fair chance, a fair field and a fair profit and if he does not do all that, somebody else has to do it; there cannot be a vacuum. Also if any industries are mismanaged, or not managed properly, slowed down or stopped, again we have to consider what to do with that industry, because the day of an industry simply stopping, not functioning, because somebody misbehaves, either an employer or labour, and the whole community suffering is gradually passing. The community cannot afford to do that; the community must see that it gives a fair deal to labour that is a different matter. Therefore in this resolution a great deal has been said about it and that is perhaps one of the most important parts of the resolution i.e. regarding councils and committees because unless you give a completely fair deal you cannot come down with a heavy hand in case of misbehaviour.¹⁰

10. The resolution stressed the importance of labour and management cooperating to increase production and proposed the establishment of a machinery to advise on fair conditions for labour and fair returns to capital. Industrial relations should also be improved.

After that you may have people still misbehaving so that I would like this House to consider this resolution in this context. I have not touched on the various subjects which might be added or subtracted. I have no doubt if the House sat down it could perhaps hear and then make some changes in it but I do submit that the fundamental approach of this statement is the only right approach and the only practical approach at the present time and therefore I hope the House will adopt it.

2. Industrial Peace¹

I appeal to capital and labour to sink their differences and work for the common good of the country.

I hope that the provincial governments, industrialists and labour will extend all their support to the Planning Commission which is to be set up shortly.

There is now no mutual trust between capital and labour and their constant conflicts have affected the strength of the country. Many provinces have now set up industrial courts to settle disputes between them. I, however, hope that both parties will settle their differences themselves. Perhaps it is not possible to eradicate all capital-labour conflicts, but I think they can be minimised to a great extent.

In pursuing any definite industrial policy a fundamental pre-requisite is cordial relations between employers and employees. If this is not forthcoming then both are to be blamed.

It is difficult to point out which way will lead the world to permanent peace. Certainly the method followed in the last twenty five years is not the correct way as it has not established peace in the world. India wants to avoid all conflicts as far as possible.

The Government's prime objective in its plans is improvement of the lot of the common man. The future of the nation depends on how far it succeeds in that.

1. Speech at the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, 26 April 1948. From *The Times of India*, 27 April 1948.

3. A Fair Deal to Workers¹

You must cooperate in the great task of raising the people's economic lot and avoid strikes which will retard you in achieving this.

Now that the war is over, we have to devote our attention to other fields of production. We have to build up our country, we have to increase production and bring about the industrialisation of the country. We have great schemes on hand which will give us the means of power necessary for increasing production. Therefore, the sooner we achieve a high rate of production the better.

Strikes hold up production. Strike is a weapon which should be used with the greatest circumspection but unfortunately it cannot be said that this is being exercised in that manner judging from the strikes that are now going on. We should have the greatest cooperation of all concerned in the production effort. It would, however, be unfair if fair remedies are not ensured for workers. We have to devise a machinery which will help us to avoid strikes and ensure a fair deal to the workers.

I congratulate you on your work as it is connected with the defence of the country. Your work is of high importance. I would ask you to remember the great cause for which you are all working and keep the goal before you and work for its realisation by giving your very best.

1. Speech at the cordite factory, Aruvankadu, near Ootacamund, 2 June 1948. *The Hindu*, 4 June 1948.

4. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

You will remember that certain decisions were arrived at at the Tripartite Conference of Labour, Industry and Government.² Among these decisions

1. File No. 26 (25) 48-PMS. This letter was sent also to S.P. Mookerjee.
2. The ninth session of the Indian Labour Conference had accepted the truce resolution adopted by the tripartite conference in December 1947. It was felt that the question of fair wages to labour and fair remuneration to capital should be examined at expert level. The housing problem would be discussed at the forthcoming Labour Ministers' Conference.

there was one dealing with equitable wages, profits and the balance to be divided up.³ As I understood it and as I believe you meant it to be, this was intended to lead to some kind of profit-sharing. A committee⁴ was appointed to go into this matter by the I. & S. Ministry with Shroff⁵ as Chairman. I am told now that some members of the committee as well as some others challenged the whole basis and idea of profit-sharing and said that this was not at any time intended.⁶ I think they are wrong and our going back on this idea will produce a very bad impression in the public and more specially in labour ranks. I hope, therefore, that you will help in preventing any whittling down of the resolution we passed at that Tripartite Conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Labour Minister's Conference, which met in New Delhi on 3-4 May 1948, decided that an expert committee be set up to advise on fair returns to capital and on how surplus profits should be shared between capital and labour. The committee consisted of A.D. Shroff, Biren Mookerjee, S.P. Jain, Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Asoka Mehta, Khandubhai K. Desai, V.S. Karnik and representatives of the Ministry of Industry and Supply, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Commerce.
4. The committee of experts on profit-sharing held its meetings in New Delhi from 25 to 29 June 1948.
5. Ardeshir Darabshaw Shroff (1899-1965); Vice-President, Bombay Shareholders Association, 1936-37; Vice-President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, 1936; Trustee of the Port of Bombay, 1933-37; Chairman, Tata Textile Group and New India Assurance Company; non-official member of the Profit Sharing Committee.
6. In the terms of reference of the expert committee it was laid down that fair return to capital should be such as would not discourage investment and that labour's share in surplus profits should be "determined on a sliding scale varying with production." It was reported that organised industry was against profit-sharing and that labour was agreeable to it only with reservations.

5. To S. S. Sokhey¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Sokhey,

Your letter of the 3rd May has only just reached me. Why it has taken such a long time I do not know.

I am greatly interested in what you have written about your visit to Czechoslovakia and the possibility of our setting up plants for the manufacture of

1. File No. 17 (80)/48-PMS.

dyes and chemicals in India with the help of the Czechs. I entirely agree with you that this is a very promising venture, that we should encourage it from every point of view; also that this should be a state-owned industry in India.

We have at present a very high grade Czech technical mission here² and we are trying to develop contacts with them but this particular matter should of course be dealt with on a governmental level. Unfortunately we have not yet appointed our ambassador in Prague and have been unable to find a suitable person but we hope to do so fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. A technical mission from Czechoslovakia came to India in June 1948 for six weeks. Though the mission was primarily interested in problems of power generation, it also explored possibilities of technical aid in other spheres.

6. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Dr. Mookerjee,

I have received a letter from Colonel S.S. Sokhey from Prague which contains an interesting and important proposal. This proposal is that we should start the manufacture of dyes and chemicals in India with the help of the Czechs who have got the most up-to-date factories for this purpose and who can do this for us in a record time. I am rather fascinated by this proposal and I should like it to be examined fully very soon so that we might be in a position to take further steps in the matter.

I think that this industry must be state-owned completely both because of its essentially vital character to the nation and because it is only then that we shall get full cooperation of the Czech Government.

I am sending Sokhey's letter to Bhatnagar² for his comments, etc. and asking him to send on the letter plus his comments to you.

1. File No. 17 (50145-PMS).

2. S.S. Bhatnagar was Director, Scientific and Industrial Research, Government of India.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You are meeting the Czech mission here soon again. You might discuss this with them but the matter is to be dealt with on a purely governmental level and if we decide to go ahead, as I hope we will, we might have to send some special representatives to Prague for the purpose. Perhaps Sokhey might be asked to go back with our instructions. I enclose copy of a note I have sent to Bhatnagar.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

IV. Multiparty Project

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Maharaja of Bikaner came to see me today with Mehr Chand Mahajan, his new adviser. He spoke to me chiefly about the Bhakra Dam project. This was originally intended to supply water to a part of Bikaner State also, but it appears that the East Punjab Government now intends to absorb all the water and not to give any to Bikaner. *Prima facie* this seems to me unreasonable. We must look at it from the all-India point of view, and, as far as I can make out, food production should be much greater if some of this water went to the good land in Bikaner State which lacks water. There is no other way of reaching Bikaner.

2. I understand that the Bikaner Government wrote to the States Ministry on this subject some time back giving all the facts. I think they deserve to be helped in this matter. I am writing to the W.M.P. Ministry² to enquire how matters stand.

3. The Maharaja then spoke to me about certain objections he had to the Draft Constitution of the Indian Union.³ He was worried about sovereignty and the like. You know that he has got a number of bees in his bonnet. I did not discuss this matter with him. I told Mahajan that if he wanted he could meet Sir B.N. Rau and explain his viewpoint.

4. The Maharaja also wanted a trunk telephone, an airline and a broadcasting service. I have asked Mahajan to see Rafi Ahmed Kidwai about the two former subjects.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 17 (59)/48-PMS.

2. Ministry of Works, Mines and Power.

3. See *ante*, p. 137.

2. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I should like to know how far the Bhakra Dam project² has proceeded and what the targets are for the next six months and future periods.³ We want to consider all these river valley schemes with targets in view which have to be checked frequently so as to avoid delay.

I have been going into this scheme and I have been amazed to notice that it has been under consideration for over 30 years. It is astonishing how slow we are at everything that we undertake. Anyway, there is, I hope, going to be no further delay.⁴

Looking at the scheme I found that it was proposed to give the benefit of the water from the Bhakra Dam to a considerable part of Bikaner State which has good lands and stands badly in need of water. I have heard rather vaguely that some new scheme has been prepared which leaves out Bikaner State altogether.⁵ This matter has to be carefully considered from the all-India point of view so as to have the largest food production and the greatest possibilities of all round progress and growth. A river valley scheme is essentially one which must be looked upon from this all-India point of view. I shall be glad if you could kindly have some particulars sent to me of how matters stand now in regard to the Bhakra Dam project.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS.

2. Work on the Bhakra Nangal project was begun in 1946. It involved an expenditure of Rs. 130 crores for building a dam, 226 metres high and 519 metres in length across the Sutlej at Bhakra, and a reservoir with an area of 164 square kilometers at Gobindsagar. The dam would on completion irrigate 3604 thousand acres of land and generate 144 thousand kw. of power. About eight miles downstream Nangal Dam was to be built.

3. Bhargava said that while progress was satisfactory, special measures would have to be taken to finish it on schedule.

4. Bhargava said that projects drawn up in 1919 and 1942 had not been approved by the then British Government as they did not favour the development of East Punjab. Dislocation caused by partition and difficulties in the supply of coal, steel and machinery were now causing delay.

5. Urging priority for Punjab's needs, Bhargava explained that Bikaner had been excluded because it had become possible to extend the command area of the dam in East Punjab and the States of Patiala and Nabha.

3. River Resources¹

I have come here after several years. In the meanwhile several changes have taken place. We should not worry about what has happened but should look to the future.

The first thing we have to do is to free everyone from the curse of poverty and for that we must produce wealth. As we cannot get this from outside, we shall have to develop our own resources. Wealth does not mean gold; gold is meant for trade. What we should aim at is the minimum comfort for the masses, be they in the remotest parts of India. Our wealth lies in our rivers and I have come here in connection with the construction of the Hirakud dam² which will harness the river Mahanadi.

The Hirakud is a great project. It has immense possibilities and after a full consideration of the report of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, I have come to inaugurate work on the dam. In all such projects some people have necessarily to suffer and they should suffer gladly in the interests of the country as a whole.

1. Speech at Jharsaguda railway station (Orissa), 12 April 1948. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 13 April 1948.
2. See *ante*, p. 3, fn 2.

4. The Hirakud Dam¹

No invitation to me is more agreeable than this, to come to Orissa and to take part in this auspicious ceremony of building the Hirakud dam. In Delhi I am overwhelmed with all manner of problems. These problems are of far less importance than the great river valley schemes we have in India. For our political and other problems will find some solution, good or bad, and will probably be forgotten after some years. But these constructive feats will not only change the face of India and bring prosperity to millions but will make that prosperity endure for a thousand years.

1. Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation of the Hirakud Dam, Orissa, 12 April 1948. Based on reports in *Hindusthan Standard* and *National Herald*, 14 April, and *The Hindu*, 15 April 1948.

Therefore, I am vastly interested in all these river valley schemes—the Mahanadi,² Damodar Valley, Kosi,³ Bhakra and others, for I feel that they will be the foundation of all future development in India. They will prevent disastrous floods and soil erosion, they will bring large areas under cultivation and will thus increase the food supply of India and they will also produce hydroelectric power and thus help in the rapid development of industry.

More food and more power are the two essential needs of India today and those needs will be fulfilled by our great river valley schemes. With more power both big-scale and cottage industries will come up, as also employment of a large number of people.

Of these great schemes, the Hirakud part of the Mahanadi project is the first to have work started on it. That is a proud privilege for Orissa because it will be an example for others and a test of our capacity. It is, therefore, of primary importance. It can be said that not only the future of Orissa but the future of India as a whole is going to be affected by the success of the scheme. I see this future taking shape in the coming months and years, and Orissa, which is the poorest of our provinces in spite of its notable past history, developing into one of our foremost provinces. For she will not only have irrigation and hydro-electric power but also abundance of rich minerals.

As soon as the Hirakud scheme is well on its way the next part of the Mahanadi project, the Bikkerpara scheme,⁴ will be taken in hand. This will be on an even vaster scale. The third scheme is the Marakone, and when the Mahanadi scheme has been fully given effect to, Orissa will not only have complete flood control, irrigation and drainage but also soil conservation and power, five or six times more than the whole of India possesses today.

This is the great vision of the future that I see, a future that is not far distant, but which will take shape before our eyes from now onwards. It is a great adventure, and those who are associated with it have reason to be proud of their association with something of enormous benefit to the people of India. But they will have to carry a heavy burden and they must shoulder it worthily and show results which will be commensurate with the vision.

I congratulate the people of Orissa on the beginning of this great adventure which is far more vital to the future of India than many of the political problems and disputes which fill our minds.

2. The Mahanadi delta irrigation scheme was planned as an adjunct to stage I of the Hirakud dam project. It consisted of a diversion weir at Mahanadi to pick up releases from Hirakud, a remodelling of the canal system and weirs on the Birupa and Mundali rivers.
3. A multipurpose project on the Kosi river in Bihar, estimated to cost Rs. 100 crores, which would irrigate two to three million acres of land in Nepal and Bihar. Power-production, navigation, flood and silt control, soil conservation, drainage, reclamation of waterlogged areas, malaria control and fish culture would also be promoted.
4. The reference is presumably to the Tikerpara and Naraj dam projects which were planned as a part of the Mahanadi scheme.

Criticisms have been levelled against the Hirakud project by some people. Politics are important but surely a country cannot progress by politics alone. The people themselves should be in a position to march forward. A country can progress only when the people are relieved of their miseries. The Hirakud project is a work which will not cause more misery to the people but it will bring about an end to their miseries.

I personally have high hopes and believe that this project will bring prosperity to the province. But I would like to point out that the Central Government has such big schemes ready to be executed in different provinces of India. They have been prepared not on the provincial basis, but with the object of benefiting the people of the country in general.

It would be regrettable if such schemes led to provincial controversies. We should view these projects with a broad outlook and see whether the schemes benefit the people of the country in general or not.

People should cooperate wholeheartedly with their national Government. Although the primary responsibility of carrying on the work lies with the Government, it cannot succeed without help and cooperation from the people themselves. Big projects cannot be worked through legislative enactments. People themselves will have to work for the success of the projects. I therefore hope that the people will take a vow to complete the work that has been undertaken and will not relax till it is finished.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
V. Provincial Boundaries

1. To C. M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
14 April 1948

My dear Trivedi,

Please forgive me for not having acknowledged your letters. I have received your letters of the 27th, 28th and 31st March and finally of the 7th April.

About Himachal Pradesh,² I think that it is right for us to keep this whole area somewhat separate from the plains. They are small but they have a distinctive culture of their own which will be swamped if they merge into the Punjab or the U.P. Exactly what their future should be I am not quite clear. For the present, this area should be kept separate. As for your proposal to make you the Lieutenant Governor of this area, something can certainly be said in favour of it but I think the people of this whole area will imagine that there is some underhand way of joining them on to the East Punjab. They do not want to merge with the Punjab. Certain other difficulties might also arise. However, I have referred the matter to Sardar Patel to whom you have also written.

I like the idea that Governors might send copies of their fortnightly letters to Governors of neighbouring provinces. I shall suggest this in my next fortnightly letter. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi does not communicate with me.

As for the Regional Commissioners of States doing this, I think this would also be desirable but these Commissioners have not settled down themselves yet and I do not know if they are sending any fortnightly reports even to the States Ministry. However, I am passing on your suggestion to the States Ministry.

We hope to consider fairly soon the question of the use of the National Flag and to issue some kind of general directions. Most Governors and Premiers are in favour of limiting the display of the Flag. As for the National Anthem, I should like to go a little slow. People are getting used to *Jana Gana Mana* and this practice might be allowed to continue for some time. But the practice of cinema houses playing any kind of National Anthem might be stopped.

It is clear to me that Mohan Singh's Desh Sewak Sena cannot continue.³ We cannot have overlapping organisations and we can only have a Govern-

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Rulers and Chiefs of eleven East Punjab Hill States signed agreements ceding to the Dominion Government full and exclusive authority over their States. The Government of India took over their administration on 15 April 1948 and decided to integrate these States, as soon as practicable, into a centrally administered unit, to be known as "Himachal Pradesh".

3. See *post*, p. 390.

ment sponsored one. Dr. Gopichand told me that Mohan Singh was winding up his Desh Sewak Sena and this would be incorporated in the National Volunteer Corps. Mohan Singh has been making rather unnecessary and undesirable speeches⁴ about his Desh Sewak Sena in Bombay and we have had enquiries as to why we are permitting this organisation to continue.

You will remember that I have been laying great stress on free rations being gradually stopped in our camps. There must be some work done by everyone in camps except those who are too old or too young or are disabled. I was told both in Amritsar and Jullundur that the East Punjab Government would follow this policy and within a month or so give full effect to it. I do not know what has happened. I know that cottage industries are being encouraged but I should like every member of the camp to do some kind of work before he is given rations.

The one-way traffic from Pakistan to India is somewhat disturbing. We are not encouraging it but at the same time it is a little difficult to stop it.⁵

I am sorry to confess that our Rehabilitation and Development Board has not produced any substantial results yet. They have come up against all manner of departmental obstructions. I am going to place this matter before our Cabinet to speed things up.

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In a speech on 27 March 1948 at Bombay, Mohan Singh said that the object of the Desh Sewak Sena was "to marshal the youth of India to train them so that they form a second line of defence behind our armed forces."
5. On 19 May 1948, the Government of India invited the Pakistan Government to discuss the feasibility of a two-way traffic of evacuees satisfactory to both the Dominions so as to stop the one-way traffic of Muslims to India on a large scale. On 21 July, the Government of India put restrictions on entry of persons from Pakistan.

2. To B. C. Roy¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Bidhan,

I have your letter of the 19th May.²

I think we shall be able to get round the Bihar Government so far as the Mor scheme is concerned. But I must say that the agitation started in Bengal for the transfer of some areas in Bihar to Bengal is not going to

1. File No. 17 (52)/48-PMS.

2. B.C. Roy complained that they had not been able to proceed with the Mor scheme due to objections from Bihar, and said that the Central Government should discuss this with the Bihar Government or take up the scheme themselves.



WELCOMING C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, GOVERNOR GENERAL-DESIGNATE,
AT DELHI AIRPORT, 20 JUNE 1948



WITH LADY MOUNTBATTEN, PAMELA MOUNTBATTEN AND C. RAJA GOPALA CHARL.
NEW DELHI, 21 JUNE 1948

make our work easy. I wrote to you that this agitation will do no good at all.³ If one thing is certain it is this: that no one is going to touch these provincial boundaries between Bihar and Bengal for some time to come. Any attempt to do so will raise a tremendous outcry and bitter passions. I am astounded at the casual way in which certain people in West Bengal talk about taking over much of the coal and industrial area of Bihar.⁴

3. See *ante*, pp. 348-49.

4. There was an agitation in West Bengal for the return of certain areas which had been transferred to Bihar in 1912. Sarat Chandra Bose, one of the leaders of the agitation, had said that the mineral resources of Manbhum and Singhbhum would make Bengal economically self-sufficient.

3. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

You will remember my writing to you about the Mor scheme on the borders of Bihar and Bengal. You replied to me at the time. I appreciate the difficulties but obviously we cannot hang up an important scheme till something else happens. This scheme must go ahead. At the same time it is up to the West Bengal Government to give all help and compensation to those who might be displaced. If you so choose, you can do this work yourself on behalf of the Government of West Bengal.

I know there is an agitation in West Bengal for the inclusion of some Bihar areas in Bengal. This agitation, I think, more specially at present, is completely wrong. We shall give no countenance to it. So you need not trouble yourself about this aspect of the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Dr. Mookerjee,
Your letter of the 22nd May.²

Reference was made in the Constituent Assembly to the appointment of a committee or commission to investigate the possibility of having separate Andhra and Karnatak provinces. The Draft Constitution has a note to this effect also.³ In accordance with this the President of the Constituent Assembly is thinking of appointing some such commission.⁴ I believe the proposal is to have a preliminary enquiry.

You will observe that the investigation deals with the formation of new provinces and not with changes in the boundaries of existing provinces. For my part I am very sorry that any such step has to be taken now. If it is to be taken, then it should be limited. I am quite clear in my mind that we should not have any roving enquiry to rectify existing boundaries all over India. Nothing would be more inducive to fierce agitation and the rousing of passions on secondary matters when vital issues were at stake before the country.

I thought it better that the Government as such should not be committed at this stage to any proposal and therefore it seemed more desirable for the President of the Constituent Assembly to take action.

I have written to Dr. Roy telling him that I am entirely opposed to the raising at present of any claims for the rectification of West Bengal and Bihar boundaries.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7 (67)/48 (Vol. II)-PMS.

2. Referring to the reports that the Premiers of Bombay and Madras had been asked to recommend names of the persons to serve on the commission on linguistic provinces, Syama Prasad Mookerjee suggested that such a commission should be fully representative, and in order to give it proper status, it should be appointed by the Government and should also consider West Bengal's claims to Bengali-speaking tracts in adjoining provinces.

3. Andhra Province had been first included and later deleted from the First Schedule of the Draft Constitution which was published on 21 February 1948. The Draft said that if Andhra or any other region was mentioned in the Schedule before the Constitution was adopted, they would have to be immediately made into separate Governor's provinces under the 1935 Act before the Draft Constitution was passed.

4. A Commission, headed by S.K. Dar, a former judge of the Allahabad High Court, was appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 16 June 1948 to examine and report on the formation of the new provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra.

5. See *ante*, pp. 320-321.

5. To Niharendu Dutt-Majumdar¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Majumdar,²

I have your letter of May 12th.³ I must confess that I have little sympathy with any movement for changing provincial boundaries. Owing to certain special circumstances we may have to take up the question of Andhra and Karnatak which want to be formed into separate provinces. But changing the boundaries of existing provinces is an entirely different matter and we cannot possibly take it up at this stage without seriously affecting the whole structure in India. Whatever the future may have in store for us, I am quite clear that we must not raise this problem now. I do not agree that the national movement stands committed to any such view.

Considering the vast problems that we have to face all over the country any diversion of interest to these petty problems is not of service to the country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7 (67)/148, (Vol. II)-PMS.
2. (b. 1905); freedom fighter and pioneer labour leader of Bengal; led dock workers strike in Calcutta in 1934 and jute workers strike in 1937-39; joined the Forward Bloc in later years and became its president; Minister for Law and Justice, Government of West Bengal, 1948-52; Minister in charge of Aborigines and Tribal Welfare for some time.
3. Dutt-Majumdar had enclosed a press statement on the incorporation of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar into West Bengal and had asked for Nehru's comments.

6. To Gopinath Bardoloi¹

New Delhi
8 June 1948

My dear Bardoloi,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th June. I am sorry for the trouble you had when the clash took place between the students and the railwaymen.

About Bhutan's demand for return of certain territory in Assam our position is that we should be as generous as possible without doing any grave injury to our interests in Assam or elsewhere. We cannot think of Bhutan as

1. J.N. Collection.

foreign territory and we can never permit it to become such. So far as I remember their demand was for 200 square miles of forest land. This represents a narrow strip of about 20 miles by 10 miles. It can hardly make much difference either way unless that narrow strip contains some very valuable mineral. It is not necessary that we should hand over this territory to them but it would be a good thing if we gave them a part of it as this would bring them nearer to us in many ways. They are simple folk and have to be treated with friendship and generosity. I should like you to approach this question in this spirit and then see that no injury is caused to Assam's interest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

7. To B. C. Roy¹

New Delhi
16 June 1948

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th June about the Moi scheme.² I enclose a copy of my letter to the Bihar Premier.³

I am afraid some harm has been done by the incessant agitation in Bengal for the inclusion of certain districts of Bihar in West Bengal. I do not understand why this agitation should be raised at the present moment. It is certain that it will not bear fruit and all that would happen is that it will produce ill feeling and delay.

Please fix up a conference soon.⁴ If you like, there might be preliminary discussions between Bihar and West Bengal and then the Centre can come in.

I went to Naini Tal the other day and saw Padmaja who has not been very well. She has asked me if you are likely to visit Delhi during the next fortnight. Could you send her a telegram in answer to this query?

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17 (52)/48-PMS.

2. Roy had said that even Rajendra Prasad agreed that the West Bengal Government could not be expected to carry on propaganda among the Santhals in Bihar in favour of the Messanjore dam. Moreover, at the interprovincial conference in Delhi on 2 March 1948, the West Bengal Government had agreed to prepare a settlement scheme for the next people.

3. See the succeeding item.

4. At a conference convened by the Government of India in Delhi on 16 July 1948, Roy reiterated his assurance about the settlement of the displaced people.

8. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
16 June 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

I am writing to you again² in regard to the Mor project and the Messanjore dam. You will remember my previous letter on the subject to which you were good enough to reply. Dr. B.C. Roy, Premier of West Bengal, has forwarded to me some correspondence with you on the subject.

This matter must be finalised soon as delay is harmful and wasteful. If the project is a good one it must be pushed through with all speed. If it is not good then it should be dropped. My own impression is that it is a good project, beneficial alike to Bihar and West Bengal. Inevitably it involves a certain displacement of population as all such schemes do. A scheme which is patently beneficial to the community, cannot be given up because it involves displacement of persons. If so, there would be no scheme at all.

The first question therefore to decide is whether to give final approval to the scheme or not. The West Bengal Government of course wish to proceed with the scheme but it is for the Bihar Government to decide finally. Certain factors have to be kept in mind. This scheme has nothing to do with any readjustment or rectification of the Bihar and West Bengal boundaries. That is an entirely separate question which does not arise now.³ Any intrusion of that question now will come in the way of this Mor scheme and will at the same time raise new questions which should not be raised at present. The Government of India have no wish at all to discuss these rectifications of provincial boundaries at present or in the near future. There has been talk of new provinces being formed, such as Andhra and it is proposed to appoint a Commission to report whether such a thing is feasible or not. This Commission will not enquire into rectifications of provincial boundaries, except such as follow from the creation of a new province. Therefore the question of the Bihar-Bengal border does not arise and should not be discussed.

This leads us to the conclusion that the Mor scheme should be considered purely on its merits apart from provinces concerned. Anything that adds to the productivity of the country and the fertility of the soil should be welcomed. Further, this scheme would add considerably to the power resources of the country and more specially of Bihar and West Bengal.

1. File No. 17 (52)'48-PMS.

2. See *ante*, pp. 320-321.

3. Later, in 1956, the Bihar and West Bengal Transfer of Territories Act transferred from Bihar to West Bengal a part of Purnea district and a part of Purulia subdivision of Manbhum district.

Another point must be made clear. Santhals that are dispossessed must be adequately provided for. The West Bengal Government has undertaken to do so. They should have a prior claim to the lands which will be irrigated by the new canal system.

It has been said that the Santhals will object strongly to their removal from that area. That is understandable as everyone objects to being dispossessed. But I imagine that if a proper approach is made, the advantages of the change are pointed out, and adequate arrangements are made, the objections will largely vanish away. I am told that some Santhal leaders are prepared to make this proper approach.

It is clear that an approach to the Santhals of this area should not be made by representatives of the West Bengal Government only. This approach should be a joint approach and the Bihar Government should specially interest itself in it. West Bengal should not carry on an agitation in any part of Bihar as this will lead to complications.

Another question that has to be considered is the desirability of the Central Government undertaking the building of this dam, etc. It would be advisable to have at an early date a conference between representatives of the Central Government and those of West Bengal and Bihar so that this matter might be finalised.⁴ The only way to expedite this business is across a conference table and not through letters. I trust therefore that such a conference will be held soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The dispute was later settled in favour of West Bengal at a conference in Delhi when Roy produced his scheme of resettlement of twenty thousand displaced persons within West Bengal.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VI. The Problem of Language

1. Language in A.I.R. Bulletins¹

Will you please let me know what policy is followed in regard to language used in the news bulletins of A.I.R.?² Has any definite policy been laid down by any committee³ and has any list been prepared of more or less technical words which are to be used in the Hindustani broadcasts? There is often a marked variation in the language used from time to time. Does the committee suggest this variation or is it left to the announcer? It would obviously be desirable to have a clearly laid and definite policy.⁴

2. In regard to A.I.R. broadcasts in Persian and Arabic, we have received complaints from our ambassadors in Teheran⁵ and Cairo⁶ and newspapers from those countries have criticised it. I should like to know who is responsible for these broadcasts. It appears that questions are invited and answered. This has led to a great deal of criticism in Iran.

3. Broadcasts for Iran and the Arabic-speaking countries as indeed to any foreign countries have to be specially prepared with a view to that country and should give information about India which those countries lack.⁷ The manner of presentation of this information has to be carefully considered. There is at present a very great deal of ignorance about India in all these

1. Note to Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 11 April 1948. File No. 43 (15)/48-PMS.
2. Commenting on the note, Patel wrote on 27 April 1948 that the main objective of the language policy of A.I.R. news bulletins was general intelligibility. He agreed that it would be better to use such English terms as Security Council, Constituent Assembly, Union, Universities, and U.N.E.S.C.O.
3. A Hindustani committee was appointed to assist in the choice of vocabulary and supervision of Hindustani content of news bulletins with K.M. Munshi, Zakir Husain, Amrit Kaur, S.N. Agrawal, Tara Chand, K.D. Paliwal, Mohammad Yamin Khan and Humayun Kabir as members.
4. The Committee had drawn up a list of one hundred political and technical terms with their Hindi and Urdu equivalents for holding a test poll in various parts of India. The Committee had also decided that names of institutions and designations, which by common usage had almost become proper names or assumed the connotation of proper names, and scientific terms should be used in their original forms and not in the translated Hindustani.
5. Syed Ali Zaheer.
6. Syud Hossain.
7. Patel wrote on 27 April 1948 that the staff for Arabic and Persian broadcasts had been severely depleted at the time of partition and a very small team was continuing the broadcasts. He assured Nehru that qualified personnel had now been recruited and hoped that these complaints would be substantially reduced.

countries. Pakistan Radio is giving much fuller information about Pakistan and the Pakistan viewpoint. It is desirable therefore to reorganise our Persian and Arabic broadcasts and for this purpose Maulana Abul Kalam Azad might well be consulted, as he is well acquainted with both the languages and the background in these countries.⁸

4. I have not written to the Hon'ble Minister for Information and Broadcasting as he is unwell. But you might consult him and take his directions.

8. Patel wrote, "I should be grateful if Maulana Sahib could forward to me any suggestions that he might have in regard to these broadcasts and I shall have them examined as expeditiously as possible." Nehru replied on 5 May 1948 : "About Persian and Arabic broadcasts I suggest that you might direct the persons concerned to go and see Maulana and ask him for his suggestions. It would be worthwhile asking him to broadcast in Persian or Arabic sometimes."

2. To G.S. Gupta¹

New Delhi
23rd May 1948

My dear Guptaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th May. I am afraid I hold definite and strong views on the language question and I do not agree with the approach that you suggest.² I am horrified at the attempts that are being made today to introduce words which very few people can understand and which have never been in current use. This is likely to cut us away from the masses and to retard the growth of education. Further, it will completely isolate us from the world of knowledge and science.

As for your proposed resolution I do not agree with parts of it. We do not yet know what the content of the Hindi or Hindustani text will be. There are at present three separate translations being made, that is, one by you and two by two other groups.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33 (32)/48-PMS.

2. Gupta had argued that Hindustani lacked sufficient potential to serve as the national language and so either Hindi or Urdu, enriched with words from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic languages, should be adopted as the national language. Hindi or a regional language, alongwith the use of English technical terms, was not favoured by him as a medium of higher learning.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VII. Art and Culture

1. The Temples of Borobudur¹

It was suggested some time ago that a small delegation consisting of an archaeologist and possibly an engineer might visit Java and carry out an investigation of the present condition of the Borobudur temples.² It would be a graceful gesture on the part of the Government of India to undertake the renovation of some of these famous temples which are supposed to be among the highest expression of Indian art. From our Indian point of view this will be good and the Indonesian Republic would appreciate this also as a friendly gesture. I understand that the Ministry of Education approved of this. Thereupon we communicated with the Indonesian Republic authorities through our Consul there. They expressed their cordial approval of the proposal. I suggest, therefore, that early steps might be taken to send this delegation. The work of the delegation will, to begin with, be necessarily of an exploratory character. They will not undertake to do anything but examine and report to us as to what should and what can be done by us. We cannot spend very large sums of money but even a relatively small sum might go some way. In selecting the delegation perhaps a man who has done some work of renovation might be included. I should be grateful if the Education Ministry suggests the names of the delegation.

1. Note to Ministry of Education, 16 April 1948. File No. 40 (9)/48-PMS.
2. The Borobudur temples are Buddhist monuments in central Java, about 32 kms. north west of Jogjakarta in Indonesia. A delegation of two archeologists, K.R. Srinivasan and C. Sivaramamurthi, visited Borobudur in September-October and submitted a report to the Department of Archaeology, G.O.I.

2. The Olympic Games¹

I thank you for inviting me to send a message to *World Sports*, the official magazine of the British Olympic Association, and it is with pleasure that I do so.

1. Message to *World Sports*, 8 June 1948. File No. 9 (37)/48-PMS.

The Indian contingent are now on their way to London for the Olympic Games² and the occasion is thus a fitting one for me to say, on behalf of the Government and people of India, how much we have been looking forward to our country's participation, once again, in this celebrated world festival of sport.

The cult of athleticism occupied a revered place in India's ancient systems of education and has always been encouraged. The modern age has, consequently, not found our people lacking in a natural inclination towards sport, or in an appreciation of the qualities which betoken true amateur sportsmanship. That, I think, means more to us than final, tabled results. We endeavour only to do our best in such distinguished company as the Olympic Games provide, though, naturally, the desire to improve upon past performances is constantly the aspiration of our young athletes.

This spirit is expressed in the fact that India's representation at the Games has progressively increased since her first participation some twenty years ago, and the 1948 contingent is the largest she has ever sent. The honours, well and truly gained, thrice in succession, by her hockey teams, have led her to wider endeavours.³

London, this Olympic year, will be the happy meeting ground of the ambassadors of the youth of so many nations, and India is both proud and happy to offer her contribution and to wish the Convention every possible success.

2. Fifty-nine nations took part in the fourteenth Olympic Games held in London from 29 July to 14 August 1948.
3. India won the Olympic hockey championship for the fourth time in succession on 12 August 1948.

3. To Subrata Roy Chowdhury¹

New Delhi
9 June 1948

Dear Mr. Chowdhury²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of May 19th.

I would of course welcome the establishment of a Tagore Professorship of Indian Art and Literature at Cambridge University. The only question that

1. J.N. Collection.
2. (b. 1923); advocate of Calcutta High Court and Supreme Court; member of several international committees on human rights, space law, new international economic order and international law; member, Indian delegation to Commonwealth Law Conference, Sydney, 1965; author of *Military Alliances and Neutrality* (1966), *The Genesis of Bangladesh—A Study in International Legal Norms and Permissive Conscience* (1972) and *Legal Status of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States* (1980).

arises is that of finance. I am afraid it is highly unlikely that our Finance Ministry will set aside a sum of eleven lacs of rupees for this project. At any time this would have been difficult, more so now when we are rather overwhelmed by the many urgent demands upon us. Normally such chairs should be financed by public donations or by some major contribution. It might be possible for the Government to help in this to some extent. The present moment is not a very suitable one for a public appeal. There are a number of major appeals such as the Gandhi Memorial Fund and the Relief Funds. The only way to get going is for some one or more individuals, who may be specially interested, to give substantial donations. After that it might be possible to add to them.

I am sorry I cannot accept the chairmanship of the fund you suggest. I think it is not wholly proper for the Prime Minister to be associated with any such fund. Apart from this I have developed some dislike for association with funds. My past experience with this kind of thing depresses me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Education for Cooperation¹

Mr. Pearce², Ladies and Gentlemen, and dear Students,
When I received the invitation from Mr. Pearce to visit his school during my visit to Naini Tal, I could not check my temptation to come to this place.

I am much pleased to see your activities—the P.T., gymastics, the programme given by young boys. You are fortunate in getting education at a place which abounds in natural beauty situated at the top of the hill overlooking the gorgeous hills—the Himalayas—and the plains and everything beautiful.

I have seen your boarding houses, your dormitories and am pleased to see the cleanliness. I was happy to see Lady Mountbatten lying down on a cot, as I think she could not check herself in giving vent to her feelings of childhood school days.

1. Address at Birla Vidyamandir, Naini Tal, 11 June 1948. From the text in the records of the Birla Vidyamandir, Naini Tal, and *National Herald*, 12 June 1948.

2. F.G. Pearce was the first Principal of the school from October 1947 to March 1949.

With the efforts of Pandit Pant, who always thinks about his country, and Commander Pandeji,³ the Birlas have donated a large sum for the school. I learn that the institution has been founded with the aim of imparting education to students on English public school lines with special stress on Indian culture and traditions.

In my days of youth when I often visited Naini Tal, I saw from a distance this building which was then called Philander Smith College.⁴ Compared to those days the country has undergone a vast change, though much still remains to be done. Now who is to accomplish all that?

We have tried and done what we could; who will try next? It is our young men who should be good servants and soldiers of the country. India is destined to be a great country but if the youth shows any weakness, who will serve it then? I feel happy when I see young boys and girls properly educated, trained and working in cooperation. Proper education should imbue students with a spirit of service and equip them for great deeds. Students have to learn not to quarrel but to cooperate and serve.

I am pleased to see you, young boys and girls, your manners, your health and your activities.

I can only advise you to make the best use of your education. You must be the real men so that the country, I should say, the world may be proud of you.

I am glad that, within a short period, a school, which is situated in such healthy surroundings, is giving lessons not only in book-learning but also giving all-round training, specially in the gospel of love which alone can make men strong and the country great.

I do not know anything about the school but I know Mr. Pearce well. He is a gentleman and I am confident that under his guidance the school will make good progress.

I shall carry with me a happy memory of the time I spent with you.
Jai Hind.

3. Sukhadeva Pande was the chairman of the executive committee of the school.

4. This college, run by an American mission, was closed down in 1946. An estate of 55 acres was purchased with financial assistance of G.D. Birla and the Vidyamandir was started in July 1947.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

VIII. Armed Services

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
10 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter about the I.N.A. I do not remember receiving any letter from Major-General Bhonsle but it may have come. Gadgil sent me a letter he had received from Bhonsle.

I have nothing much to say about your draft reply.² It might however be stated that while we said that there will be no reinstatement of I.N.A. as such, there is no individual bar to I.N.A. men being taken even in the Army subject to suitability. In fact, quite a number of I.N.A. men have been taken in our irregular forces in the Punjab and Kashmir including some I.N.A. officers. I am sure that there is plenty of scope for the I.N.A. men in the new forces that are being raised as Home Guards, irregulars, State forces, etc., apart from civil employment. If we have the full cooperation of the I.N.A. Committee³ in this matter, we hope to get employment for all these people.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his draft reply to Maj. Gen. J.K. Bhonsle, Patel urged him to accept "a well considered Cabinet decision" regarding the employment of the former personnel of the I.N.A. as no useful purpose would be served by calling any convention or agitation on the issue.

3. I.N.A. Advisory Committee.

2. To Baldev Singh¹

New Delhi
16 April 1948

My dear Baldev Singh,

I spoke to you some days ago about the I.N.A. officers and men who had joined the irregulars raised by General Thimayya in East Punjab. This incident has raised some doubts in my mind as to the true interpretation of Government's decision in regard to the I.N.A. I think it important that there should be perfect clarity about this and that in no event should that decision be interpreted in any way unfavourable towards the I.N.A. personnel. You know that there has been a great deal of public feeling on this matter and

1. J.N. Collection.

our decision has not been welcomed. Indeed it has been strongly criticised. It was only because of strenuous efforts on our part that we prevented the matter being raised again in the Assembly. But the criticism continues and there is an element of bitterness in it.

2. The matter is likely to be raised at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee which will be held in Bombay soon.

3. General Thimayya raised his irregular forces at our specified request and it was on our suggestion that he enrolled I.N.A. personnel, including, I believe, three or four officers (other than V.C.O.s). It is obvious that all these officers and men in these irregular forces must remain, even though these irregular forces might be considered a part of our regular army. No one who has been engaged can be turned out because of our decision. That will mean that our decision has actually limited the opportunities which I.N.A. men and officers had previous to it.

4. What is our decision? We have stated that there will be no reinstatement in the army which means that they will not be automatically taken back to their previous or other positions in the army. We have further stated that having removed all stigma and bar they can serve the state in any capacity which includes both military and civil. It is true that we have specified Home Guards, constabularies etc. as special fields for engaging them. But by the terms of our announcement we have not ruled out the employment of any ex-I.N.A. officer in the regular army should we decide to take him in on grounds of merit and suitability. The whole point is that the fact of having been in the I.N.A. cannot constitute a bar to employment even in the army which must depend on merit and suitability. Any other view would mean that the real bar is previous service in the I.N.A. and nothing else. That is a position which the public cannot accept nor can we justify it. All that we can say is that in fact various things have happened which make it unlikely for such persons to be taken in the army. The fact still remains that there may be cases where a person is suitable. This must be clearly understood. As to who is suitable, it is a matter for individual decision.

5. The fact that an officer has been taken into the irregulars itself shows that he was considered suitable and he cannot now be pushed out because of his I.N.A. connection. Indeed I think that ex-I.N.A. officers should certainly be taken in these irregular forces on a contract basis for some time. What their future should be, will then be determined by the experience we have of them. If they prove good in every way it would be folly not to use them.

6. It seems to me that we should give some such opportunities to some selected young officers from the I.N.A. Otherwise we shall be acting unfairly and unjustifiably. It is equally important that we should move rapidly in this matter.

7. I should like to know how and where Thimayya's irregular forces which he raised in East Punjab are going to be used. They were raised specially for Kashmir and I understand that they are first-rate specially for the type of fighting we are having in Kashmir. I hope therefore that they will be sent to Kashmir as early as possible. We have to proceed at top speed in Kashmir now and any delay during these coming months will be harmful to our cause and will indefinitely prolong a decision. The Security Council is failing ignominiously and a decision therefore rests on our armed forces. They have done well in the past under difficult conditions. But the time for quick and effective action has now arrived. Even from the psychological point of view hard and repeated blows are much more likely to shatter the enemy's morale and organisation than a policy of indecision and slow movement which enables the enemy to consolidate another position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.G. Kher¹

Bombay
24 April 1948

My dear Kher,

I have written to you previously about the employment of the I.N.A. officers and men. We have taken the responsibility of giving them employment and we want to discharge this responsibility as soon as possible. They can be employed in any capacity except for the present regular army. Thus they can be employed in the state forces, Home Guards, Armed Constabulary, Police and all civil services, subject always to merit and suitability.

I shall be grateful if your Government helps in this business. I had a talk with Gen. Bhonsle today and he suggested that it would be helpful if a small committee is appointed here in Bombay for Bombay Province. The committee might consist of two or three secretaries or like persons and Bhonsle might also be made a member of it or be associated with it in some way. This

1. J.N. Collection.

committee could keep track of openings and expedite employment. I think this suggestion might prove useful. If you see no objection to it I shall be glad if some such step was taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Home Guards¹

Friends, I want India to become a secular state in which all *Dharmas* would be allowed to function with full freedom but they should not interfere with the politics of the country. All of you have reason to demand your just rights—for which we fought the foreigners—but at the same time you should not forget you have to fulfil certain duties and obligations.

I regret that the people of our country today are lacking in discipline and are overenthusiastic. This is dangerous. You must see that this over-enthusiasm is checked and you become more disciplined. Until you do so you will not be able to achieve your goal. On the contrary, you will weaken and disorganise yourself and whenever there is need for facing any danger and defending your country, you will become panicky and will not be able to defend it.

The Home Guards must be so trained as to be able to serve the people and help them in their difficulties and protect them. We do not want to make India a militarised country. What we desire is that everyone of you must be trained in arms so that when time comes, you may be able to defend your people and the country.

In the United Provinces the Raksha Dal² has branches in villages and is extending its membership to women. It is doing good social work among the masses. I wish that everywhere else also such organisations are formed and facilities are extended to women so that they can serve their brothers and sisters in villages.

1. Address to the Home Guards, Bombay, 25 April 1948. From *The Hindu*, 26 April 1948.

2. The Raksha Dal in the United Provinces was organised by G.B. Pant in the form of a regional and local self-defence corps to combat communal crimes and work for the poor. It was proposed to train eleven persons from every village in the use of fire-arms.

There should also be some arrangements in colleges that before the conferment of degrees on students, it should be made compulsory for them to go to villages and train the masses to enable them to be strong enough to defend themselves.

The Home Guards should not be partial or communal-minded in discharging their duties but they should fulfil their obligations and see that people become more disciplined and strong to face any danger.

The Home Guards, who are today the foundation of service to the people, will be assigned more important and responsible duties in the near future.
Jai Hind.

5. India's Great Future¹

I am sure India has a great future. I have felt that the people of India who have overcome great dangers and difficulties in the past will surely overcome the difficulties that confront them now also.

I have come here to find out how you feel and what your outlook is and to tell you how I feel so that we may understand each other. It is necessary that we should understand each other because we are engaged in a great undertaking. Whatever our rank may be, we are all fellow-travellers and we must know where our journey will end and we must understand that great problems confront us. The army and the defence forces have greater responsibilities now than in the past. We have won our freedom and independence. As you know, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. If we slacken our efforts, we may lose our liberty. We have always to keep our ideals in front of us. Without ideals, efficiency does not go far. To be merely idealistic does not help us much. We must know how to do our job. I am personally appealing not only to young men but also to young women to train themselves for those spheres of work which fit them.

1. Speech at Madras Regiment Centre, Wellington, 2 June 1948. From *The Hindu*, 3 June 1948.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

IX. Science

1. The Scientific Approach¹

Scientists like human beings are good and bad, but there is no reason why science if pursued properly should not be wholly good. In India today we should pursue science in the right way and try our utmost to foster it. There is no way except the way of science ultimately for the development of human life and institutions. This is the scientific approach to life's problems. I doubt very much if even scientists have a scientific approach to life's problems. They are often unscientific outside their laboratory or in considering other human problems.

The fundamental thing is a scientific approach. You cannot change man by law. You can create an atmosphere where his actions are governed by a scientific approach. Science remains the only right method of approach. It is certainly one of the most important methods and in India today it is even more important than elsewhere because we are backward in science. There is no reason why we should be backward because we have, I think, extraordinarily good material. We have only to put them together to produce results and the Government would be willing to help.

My objections to the establishment of the institution in Delhi remain even after listening to Sir Shanti Swarup's arguments.² Any real institution of research should not be at the place of the seat of the Government. The atmosphere in Delhi is not suited to scientific thinking. It is a pity that scientists too are drawn towards the Government's departmental work and are not unattracted by the emoluments which it carries.

I am glad that the scope of the Institute of Sciences is comprehensive.³ I hope at the same time it will not presume too much and become too exclusive and disclaim anybody who does not belong to it. Exclusiveness is not the scientific attitude but the attitude of a producer of patent medicines.

During the past two months or more I have been laying many foundation stones. Now I should like something more to happen and rapidly too. After the foundation stone is laid there is a tendency for subsequent progress to be slowed down. I hope in this case the foundation stone will soon disappear and people will sit here and do some honest work.

1. Speech after laying the foundation stone of the building of the National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi, 19 April 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 20 April and *National Herald*, 21 April 1948.
2. S.S. Bhatnagar, President of the Institute, had hoped that by building a home for all sciences in Delhi a spirit of inquiry would develop.
3. The Institute aimed to promote scientific knowledge and its practical application to problems of national welfare and to effect scientific coordination.

2. Science for the Public Good¹

I send my good wishes on the occasion of foundation stone laying ceremony of Leather Research Institute at Madras.² Each such ceremony is symbolic of foundations we are laying for great development of scientific research and application of science for public good. Indeed these are foundations strong and true of India of the future that we are building today. May science flourish in India and remove the many ills that our people suffer from.

1. New Delhi, 22 April 1948. File No. 17 (61)-PS/48-PMS.
2. Syama Prasad Mookerjee laid the foundation stone of the Central Leather Research Institute in Madras on 24 April 1948. This was the sixth in the chain of national laboratories set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

3. Fundamental Research¹

The Prime Minister whilst stressing the need for the formation of a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research² explained that this did not mean that the Ministries would have no right to have sections of scientific research in their respective fields. What was required was that fundamental research should also coordinate scientific research in the other Ministries. The question as to which of the existing institutions of scientific and industrial research should go to the new department was another matter and could be settled in consultation with the Ministries concerned.

1. Remarks at a Cabinet meeting, 19 May 1948. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. The Cabinet decided to set up a department to take over the Board of Atomic Research and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and appointed a committee with Nehru and four other ministers to decide as to which of the functions of the C.S.I.R. should be transferred to the Ministry of Industry and Supply.

4. Research on Atomic Energy¹

Any consideration of this matter involves a discussion of highly technical processes many of which are secret. If India is to make fairly rapid progress, this can only be done in cooperation with some other country which is fairly advanced in atomic research otherwise we shall remain on the lower rungs of the ladder while the rest of the world goes ahead. Dr. Homi Bhabha, the Chairman of our Atomic Energy Board, has recently toured about Europe and America and come in contact with eminent atomic energy scientists and Government representatives. Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar has also been in touch with scientists abroad more specially energy scientists who have recently built up a pile at Oslo. It appears from these contacts that it may be possible for us to have the cooperation of one or more countries in the development of atomic research in India. Probably we are not likely to get much cooperation from the U.S.A. The U.K., France and Norway may prove more cooperative.

2. Before we can proceed with the matter and discuss it in some precise form with foreign atomic energy organisations it is necessary to know what we propose to do in the matter. We have already passed an Atomic Energy Act.² That was an essential step. We have an Atomic Energy Board. It may have to be considered whether for the purpose of atomic energy experiments a much smaller board may not be more desirable as secrecy is essential. However, this matter might be considered later.

3. The third question relates to funds. Some indication has to be given about the funds which can be made available not only this year but during the next two or three years. If Government are agreeable to making some such provision, then the Atomic Energy Board can go ahead with the preliminary work both in India and abroad.

4. It is difficult to say exactly what the minimum amount would be which would give a fairly good start to this kind of research in the country. The research can only be carried on by having a pile put up which will enable us to undertake all kinds of experiments needed for the utilisation of atomic energy for several purposes. It must always be remembered that atomic energy is not just meant for making bombs but is likely to be the basic form of energy used for social purposes in future. It is, therefore, essential for us

1. Note for the Cabinet, 22 May 1948. File No. 17 (30)/47-PMS.

2. See *Selected Works (Second Series)*, Vol. 5, pp. 421-427.

to keep in the forefront in this matter or otherwise our social, economic and industrial development will suffer.

5. While it is not possible to indicate figures with any accuracy some attempt has to be made to calculate what amount of money might be needed. These provisional calculations lead to the following tentative results:

6. 1st year 1948-49	..	Rs. 10 lakhs
This expenditure will be largely on the training of personnel and for financing fundamental research on the subject of atomic physics and for obtaining such help from outside in personnel and equipment as may be necessary for the initial work. Terms will have to be negotiated with outside organisations on the basis of mutual cooperation		
2nd year 1949-50	..	Rs. 20 lakhs
This will be spent on the construction of a small pile as well as for the purchase of necessary equipment for advanced research.		
3rd year 1950-51	..	Rs. 30 lakhs
This should complete the pile with the necessary uranium and graphite and heavy water		
4th year 1951-52	..	Rs. 30 lakhs

For further equipping the atomic pile and for distribution of radioactive isotopes and by-products for more research work in India.

7. These figures are, as has been pointed out, purely tentative and much will depend on future developments, political and scientific, but they give some idea of how much we might have to spend. We are proceeding, of course, on a small basis and considering the magnitude of the work the sums involved are relatively small. In America and elsewhere far bigger sums have been spent. We might say that in the course of the next 4 years a crore of rupees might have to be spent on this undertaking. For the present, however, we might set aside Rs. 10 lakhs for the current year.

8. One of the heavy items of expenditure is the cost of heavy water. We shall have to buy this from abroad at a high price, probably from Norway, but it would be desirable to produce heavy water in India and if this is done, our cost would be proportionately reduced. There is a proposal for the establishment of an Electro-Chemical Industries Research Institute at Karaikudi for which Dr. Sir Alagappa Chettiar has donated a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs.³ Such an institute might well undertake the manufacture of heavy water.

3. Nehru laid foundation stone of Electro-Chemical Research Institute at Karaikudi on 25 July 1948.

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9. It is, therefore, suggested that Cabinet might express its approval of the proposal to erect a small pile in India for atomic energy research and should allot a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for this year's expenses to that end. The Board of Atomic Energy should be assured that further sums as indicated will be forthcoming during the coming years.

10. The Atomic Energy Commission⁴ or Board should not consist of more than 5 persons at the most or perhaps even less. This Board should function directly under the Prime Minister or as a part of the Department of Scientific Research which should for the present be under the Prime Minister.

4. On 15 August 1948, under the Atomic Energy Act the Government set up an Atomic Energy Commission which was to work directly under the Prime Minister's guidance. H.J. Bhabha was appointed Chairman, S.S. Bhatnagar, Secretary, and K.S. Krishnan, a member of the Commission.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

I. Change of Governor General

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Rajaji,
I am waiting for your reply.² I do hope you will not disappoint us. We want you here to help us in many ways. The burden on some of us is more than we can carry.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. In his letter of 30 March, Nehru had sought Rajagopalachari's consent to succeed Mountbatten, and Rajagopalachari, had replied on 2 April, "I should like to have a few days to think over." See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 466-467.

2. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
18 April 1948

Dear Lord Mountbatten,
I am glad to inform you that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has agreed to accept the office of Governor General after you relinquish it.² He has done so somewhat reluctantly and at my insistence. He is rather anxious about Bengal and has grown attached to it. We shall have to pay particular attention to the choice of his successor in Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32 (46)/48-PMS.

2. Rajagopalachari wrote to Nehru on 15 April: "I feel very reluctant but the language of your communication leaves me no room to resist."

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
21st May 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Please forgive me for the delay in answering your telegram No. 26-S dated 12th May, 1948, in which you suggested that I might be G.G.² Any suggestion from you is worthy of serious thought, but I am afraid the present one is completely impracticable from various points of view. Internationally it is bad, internally it is also unsuitable. Temperamentally it could not also do.

About Dr. Prafulla Ghosh there has been some slight hitch. He is acceptable to the Pakistan Government but Liaquat Ali Khan has objected to his being Joint High Commissioner. Probably this is due to his fear that we might isolate East Bengal from Pakistan. I have assured him that this has no constitutional significance and it is only a recognition of the personal status of Dr. Ghosh. I further suggested that if he likes we can call Dr. Ghosh Additional High Commissioner. I am waiting for his answer.

Prafulla Babu can certainly have an I.C.S. man in his staff. If Dr. Roy is prepared to let him have Hajara,³ we shall have no objection.

I gather that you are likely to come to Delhi on a brief visit to discuss future arrangements. I hope to see you then.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Rajagopalachari felt that Nehru should be the Governor General instead of himself and Patel should be the Prime Minister. That arrangement, he said, would be "of great international value, more efficient for internal affairs" and would give Nehru greater power.

3. Karuna Kumar Hajara (1903-1972); joined I.C.S., 1928; served in various capacities in Bengal, 1930-46; Private Secretary and Adviser to the first Premier of West Bengal for five and a half months, 1947-48; Secretary, Judicial and Legislative Departments, West Bengal, 1948-52; Secretary, Judicial Department, and Legal Remembrancer, May 1952-63.

4. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
18th June, 1948

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

At the meeting of the Cabinet this morning I was asked to convey the following message to you.² I gladly do so. You will believe me, I am sure, that this is not just a formal message on behalf of the Government of India but is a real expression of our affection and gratitude to you and our sorrow at your departure.

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (144)/48-PMS.

2. See the next item.

5. The Services of Lord and Lady Mountbatten¹

This period was one of upheavals and great difficulties. When all those who were concerned with the governance of India had to carry a heavy burden, Lord Mountbatten, functioning completely as a constitutional Governor General, nevertheless helped greatly in lightening that burden and in helping to face and solve the problems that confronted the country. His period of office has been memorable in the history of India and he will be remembered by the people of India with affection as one who cooperated in the great task of building a free India and who applied his great abilities and energy to this end.

The Cabinet also wish to record their deep gratitude to Lady Mountbatten for her magnificent work in the cause of suffering humanity in India.

The Cabinet trust that the bonds of friendship and cooperation in common tasks which have been forged will not weaken even after the departure of Lord and Lady Mountbatten from India. The Cabinet desire to convey their good wishes to Lord and Lady Mountbatten for the future.²

1. Resolution passed by the Union Cabinet, 20 June 1948. *The Statesman*, 21 June 1948.

2. On 20 June 1948 Mountbatten replied to Nehru, "I never thought that the day would come when I would be emotionally moved by any Cabinet resolutions, but this is exactly what your resolution has done to me. I particularly appreciate the kind terms in which the tribute to my wife has been paid." He added that "it has been an inspiration and privilege" to work with Nehru and his colleagues and wished India the greatest possible success.

6. Lord and Lady Mountbatten¹

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen. Fifteen months ago, almost to a day, some of us went to Palam airfield to welcome the new Viceroy and his wife. Some of us will go again to Palam airfield tomorrow morning to bid them goodbye. Fifteen months have passed and these fifteen months seem a long time, and yet it seems but yesterday that Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Pamela Mountbatten² came here, and yet if you look again it seems that an age has gone by because of the accumulation of sensation and experience, of joy and sorrow that has come to us during these fifteen months.

I find it a little difficult to speak on this occasion because the persons about whom I am going to speak have become during this period very dear and intimate friends of ours, and it is always difficult to speak of those who are friends and who are dear to us. One may overdo it or one may, on the other hand, guard oneself unduly and underdo it. In any event, I do not know that any words of mine are needed here to say much about Lord and Lady Mountbatten. For the last many days there have been numerous parties where they received words of praise and friendship and welcome, I suppose, but they did not affect me very much. They were rather formal on the whole.

I do feel that any words of mine this evening, after the demonstration in the city of Delhi three or four hours ago, will be in the nature of an anti-climax, because the common people of Delhi gathered together to welcome or rather to bid goodbye to them, and that was such a wonderful demonstration of friendship and affection that any words or phrases can hardly be suited to an occasion after that event. I do not know—at the most I can only guess—how Lord and Lady Mountbatten felt on that occasion; but used as I am to these vast demonstrations here, I was much affected and I wondered how it was that an Englishman and an Englishwoman could become so popular in India during this brief period of time, this brief period being a period certainly of achievement and success in some measure, but also a period of sorrow and disaster.

In fact, I have often wondered why the people of India put up with people like me who are connected with the governing of India after all that has happened during the last few months! I am not quite sure that if I had not been in the Government, I would have put up with my Government. Quite apart from the merits or demerits, the fact is that a government should

1. Speech at a banquet given in honour of the Mountbattens on the eve of their departure from India, New Delhi, 20 June 1948. File No. 2 (144)48-PMS.

2. (b. 1929); younger daughter of Lord Mountbatten; married David Hicks, an interior decorator and designer, in 1960.

and must be responsible for everything that happens, and if everything that happens is not right then the government ought to be held responsible. I think that is a good maxim, generally speaking. It may perhaps be possible to find sufficient excuses. So it surprised me all the more that after this period of storm and stress and difficulty, the Governor General and his wife, who were in some sense associated with all this, should still be able to win the affection of the people in such a tremendous degree.

Obviously, this was not connected so much with what had happened, but rather with the good faith, the friendship and the love of India that these two possessed. The people saw them working hard with indomitable energy, with perseverance, with optimism, which defied everything; even more than seeing they felt the friendship which they had for India and they saw that they were serving India to the best of their ability.

We have many failings and many weaknesses in India, but when we see friendship for India and service for India, our hearts go out and those who are friends of India and those who serve India become our comrades, whoever they may be, or wherever they may be. And so the people of India, realising that Lord and Lady Mountbatten undoubtedly were friendly to India and the Indian people and were serving them, gave you their affection and love. They could not give anything else. You may have gifts and presents, but there is nothing rarer or more precious than the love and affection of the people. You have seen yourself, Sir and Madam, how such love and affection work. If I may say so, they are the most precious of gifts. So when you have seen all this, I have little to add except to say a few words, rather personal perhaps, and also impersonal.

You have been here in your individual capacity and in a great public capacity. We have become friends with you, many of us, and we have been thrown together at a strange moment in history, and we have been actors also in this historic scene. It is difficult for me or for anyone to judge of what we have done during the last year or so. We are too near it and too intimately connected with events. May be, we have made many mistakes, you and we. Historians after a generation or two will perhaps be able to judge whether we have done right and whether we have done wrong. Nevertheless, whether we did right or wrong, the test, perhaps the right test, is whether we did try to do right with all our might and main, and if we did so then it does not very much matter, although it does matter in the sense that it turned out to be a wrong thing. I cannot judge our own motives, but I do believe that we did try to do right, and I am convinced that you tried to do the right thing by India, and therefore many of our sins will be forgiven and many of our errors also.

You came here, Sir, with a high reputation, but many a reputation has floundered in India. You lived here during a period of great difficulty and crisis, and yet your reputation has not floundered. That is a remarkable feat. Many of us who came in contact with you from day to day in these

days of crisis learnt much from you, we gathered confidence when sometimes we were rather shaken, and I have no doubt that the many lessons we have learnt from you will endure and will help us in our work in the future.

To you also, Madam, I should like to address myself also. The gods or some good fairy gave you beauty and high intelligence, and grace and charm and vitality, great gifts, and she who possesses them is a great lady wherever she goes. But unto those that have, even more shall be given, and they gave you something which was even rarer than those gifts, the human touch, the love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and who are in distress, and this amazing mixture of qualities resulted in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch. Wherever you have gone, you have brought solace, you have brought hope and encouragement. Is it surprising, therefore, that the people of India should love you and look up to you as one of themselves and should grieve that you are going? Hundreds of thousands have seen you personally in various camps and other places and hospitals, and hundreds of thousands will be sorrowful at the news that you have gone.

May I say a word about Pamela Mountbatten? She came here straight from school, and possessing all the charm she does, she did a grown-up person's work in this troubled scene of India. I do not know if all of you who are present here know the work she has done, but those who do know well how splendid that has been and how much it has been appreciated!

I do wish to say more, but to repeat what many no doubt have told you, that while we say goodbye to you, we do not look upon this as a goodbye and farewell. The bonds that tie the Mountbattens to us are too strong to be broken and we hope to meet here or elsewhere from time to time, and whether we meet you or not, we shall remember you always. We cannot give you anything more precious or more valuable a gift than you have received from the people of Delhi—from the people of India—but as a small souvenir my colleagues in the Cabinet and the Governors of all the provinces of India have joined together in presenting you with this small gift which I shall have the privilege to hand to you. This, as you see, is a kind of plate or tray. It has got inscribed upon it the signatures engraved of all the Members of the Cabinet and all the Governors in India, and the inscription upon it is this:

To the Mountbattens on the eve of their departure from India
with affection and good wishes and as a token of friendship.

Your Excellencies, Your Highnesses, Ladies and Gentlemen, may I ask you to drink to the health and good fortune of the Mountbattens?

7. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
25 June 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 142 (6)/47 dated 23rd June.² I was out of Delhi yesterday and could not, therefore, answer it earlier.

So far as Indian Princes are concerned, I agree that those whose States have not been merged into one of the Indian Provinces or formed, along with some other, into separate unions should be addressed by you. This applies also to Bhutan and Sikkim which are neighbouring Indian States. I do not, however, think that the Governor General should follow the previous practice in respect of Nepal or the Governors General of the French and Portuguese establishments. With France and with Nepal, we have direct diplomatic relations and I am advised that it is not the practice for the head of a state to announce his assumption of office to the head of another with which it has direct diplomatic relations. After all, the Governors General of French and Portuguese India are not heads of states. It is true that we have not yet established direct diplomatic relations with Portugal but the establishment of such relations is the subject of correspondence.

Bahrain is a British protectorate. In the old days, British Viceroys used to apprise the Ruler of this State of their assumption of office as representatives of the King of the United Kingdom with whom Bahrain has treaty relations. Since the transfer of power to us last August, this position has altered and I do not think our Governor General should keep up the old practice.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 142(6)-GG/47, President's Secretariat.

2. Rajagopalachari wrote that it had been customary for the Governor General on assumption of office to write to the premiers and rulers of the neighbouring States as also to the representatives of other foreign territories in India. He felt he should do the same and asked for Nehru's views.

8. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
30 June 1948

My dear Rajaji,

In Lord Mountbatten's Farewell Memorandum² he has suggested that Governors should in future address their fortnightly letters to the Governor General direct, sending a copy to the Prime Minister. The practice so far has been for the Governors to write to me and send a copy of their letter to the Governor General. I agree with Lord Mountbatten's proposal and I am writing to the Governors to follow this procedure in future.

The Provincial Premiers will continue to send me their fortnightly appreciations. I am asking them to send a copy of it to you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 95-GG/47, President's Secretariat.
2. On 19 June 1948, Mountbatten had suggested various steps for toning up the working of the Government.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

II. Appointments of Governors

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
16th April 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th, which K.P.S. Menon has handed to me this morning. I have read it with great relief and I am grateful to you for your agreeing to take up the burden.

About Bengal we have a little time to decide.² Katju of course is a good man, able and of high integrity. I have just been to Orissa for two days and I found that he was very happy there and he fitted in like a glove to the environment. The Ministry likes him and gets on well with him. He is popular with the people. Indeed I have felt that Orissa was a haven of peace compared to nearly all our other provinces; I am sure that Katju will not at all like being moved away, nor will Mahtab like it. There are very few persons who want to give up a peaceful existence combined with constructive effort for a turbulent area full of difficult problems.

While Katju is undoubtedly good I rather doubt how far he will get on with the Bengalis. But then that might well apply to others also. However, we shall think about this.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Rajagopalachari wrote that B.C. Roy agreed with him that though K.N. Katju might not like to be disturbed that no other person was good enough to be the Governor of West Bengal and that Nehru could easily find someone else for Orissa.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
18 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Rajaji has at last agreed to succeed Mountbatten as Governor General. He has done this very reluctantly and because of my special insistence.

He is worried about Bengal. He suggested Katju for it. Katju, of course, is a good man, though I am not at all clear whether he will fit in with Bengalis. At the present moment he is the right man in the right place in Orissa.² He gets

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his reply of 26 April, Patel agreed that Katju should not be moved from Orissa.

on very well with the Ministry and the people and they all like him. He is happy in his work and likes Orissa. I am sure he would not like to change over.

I am waiting for Dr. Bidhan Roy's suggestion.³

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. In a letter dated 22 April Roy suggested the name of Katju for the Governorship of West Bengal.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
6 May 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th May² and your brief note of the day before. I am quite sure that as you have succeeded in Bengal you will also succeed in India as a whole.

I have already written to you my reactions about Katju going to Bengal. Vallabhbhai also reacted strongly against the proposal. So did Mahtab of course. I have not mentioned it to Katju yet. But he is coming here soon and I shall sound him.

I am quite sure that Gopalaswami Ayyangar will not agree. Matthai would be good in any place. I would personally rather that he did some other work even if he left the Cabinet.

Of the other names that you have suggested perhaps Mody is the only real possible.

I am quite alive to the necessity of taking some of our younger people into the Cabinet. Indeed I think I made a major error in not doing so earlier. I agree with you about Santhanam. I hope that in the course of the next few weeks some changes will be made. Our Cabinet has grown rather stale and, oddly enough, it does not wholly function as a Cabinet should. We have got into the departmental way of doing things and it is always difficult to get out of the groove. I had been trying to revive the Cabinet Coordination

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Rajagopalachari, while preferring Katju to succeed him as Governor of West Bengal, suggested the alternative names of John Matthai, K. Santhanam, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Homi Mody, Mirza Ismail and, as a gesture, even one of the former princes. Ultimately Katju was appointed.

Committee, but this has not met thus far with a welcome at the hands of several of my colleagues.

I have rather held up the appointment of a Deputy or Joint High Commissioner for Dacca. I would very much like Prafulla Ghosh to go there as Joint H.C. But the West Bengal Cabinet shake-ups have prevented me from taking any action. I hope this matter will be settled soon. If Prafulla Ghosh is free I shall certainly press him to go to Dacca. I am writing to him. I shall be grateful if you will have a talk with him. His position will be that of a Joint High Commissioner.

I cannot tell you how weary and dispirited I feel at various developments. It is difficult to get a grip of things and they move by their own momentum. Our politics have lost all real character or moral basis and we function as pure opportunists. I have little doubt that we are rapidly deteriorating and becoming reactionary in our outlook and activities. Each step can often be justified by something else, but the net result is progressively bad. On account of all this sometimes I feel that it will be good for me as well as for India if I was out of the picture for a while.

I have been anxious for you to come here because I feel that you might help me a little to get my bearings. You know that I have often disagreed with you and I suppose we shall continue to disagree about many matters. But somehow these disagreements seem rather trivial when we come up against some basic factors. It is in regard to these that I want to seek your help and guidance.

My programme is as follows: Kashmir—9th to 11th May; New Delhi—12th; Mashobra (near Simla)—13th to 17th; New Delhi—18th to 23rd; Mussoorie—24th and 25th; Ootacamund—31st May to 3rd June.

I am going to Mashobra with the Mountbattens for some rest as well as quiet talks with them. To Mussoorie I am going to see Vallabhbhai.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. To Hare Krushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
19 May 1948

My dear Mahtab,

You will remember my speaking to you about the possibility of your Governor, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, going to Bengal. I myself was averse

1. Hare Krushna Mahtab Papers, N.M.M.L.

to this and you also did not approve of it. But after the most careful thought we cannot think of any other more suitable person for Bengal which, as you know, is a very difficult place to fill. Both the present Governor and the Premier of Bengal are anxious to have Dr. Katju. The Governor General fully supports them. I spoke to Dr. Katju when he was here a few days ago. He told me that he was happy in Orissa and would like to stay on there. But if his services were really required elsewhere, he would go there.

I have been struggling against this idea for some time past, but I feel now that there is no other satisfactory way out. I should like you to give serious thought to this matter and I trust that you will agree having regard to the larger issues at stake. Naturally we would like to choose a new Governor for Orissa in consultation with you. If you could make some suggestions, we would gladly consider them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
3 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just returned from Ooty and I am told that someone is going soon to Dehra Dun. So I hasten to send you a few lines. I have not had time to look through my letters yet and probably there are some from you. I shall write more fully tomorrow.

I hope you are progressing at Dehra Dun and have resumed your short walks.

I have received a telegram from Mahtab in which he wholeheartedly agrees with my suggestions. I presume this is the one about Asaf Ali going to Orissa, but I should like to make sure after reference to other papers. I suppose we had better now fix up Katju for West Bengal and Asaf for Orissa.

Rajaji has just arrived. I met him at Palam. He mentioned that Munshi might go to Orissa as Munshi may not remain long in Hyderabad. I pass on the suggestion to you. I imagine that now that Asaf is approved of we might stick to that. But I shall await your reaction. I have not spoken to Asaf yet.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50* Vol. 6, p. 314.



BIDDING FAREWELL TO THE MOUNTBATTENS. NEW DELHI, 21 JUNE 1948



WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND LORD MOUNTBATTEN, NEW DELHI,
21 JUNE 1948

6. To Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
5th June 1948

My dear Asaf,

Thank you for your letter of today's date accepting the Governorship of Orissa. I am grateful to you for your acceding to my wishes in this matter. I am sure you will not regret this. Orissa is a delightful province and I would personally love to go there in any capacity. I like the place and the people who are simple and likable. The problems of Orissa are mostly of the constructive variety and big schemes are afoot there in advance of the rest of India. You will be fascinated by these schemes.

Mahtab has done a good job as Premier and I believe there is harmony in his Cabinet under his leadership. Fortunately you know Mahtab very well and, I am sure, you will get on well with him.

I think the best way for you to go to Orissa would be by a special aircraft on the 19th early morning. Katju can leave by the same aircraft on the 19th afternoon for Calcutta.

I am writing to the Governor General formally on this subject so that the approval of the King might be obtained to these appointments.

This matter should be kept secret till a public announcement is made.

I enclose copy of the telegram I am sending to Katju.²

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Not printed.

7. To B. Das¹

New Delhi
12 June 1948

My dear Das,²

I have your letter of the 11th June. I might inform you that Asaf Ali was chosen after reference to the Prime Minister of Orissa as the practice is. Mahtab expressed his whole-hearted approval.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Bhubanananda Das (1885-1958); Member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1923-45; Chief Whip, Independent Party, 1924-26, and Nationalist Party, 1926-34; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50, and Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Chairman, Public Committee, 1950-54; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57, and Rajya Sabha, 1957-58,

I am rather surprised to read the reference in your letter of a citizen of a minor and centrally administered area. We do not appoint Governors or ambassadors because they come from certain province, big or small, but for other reasons. Asaf Ali has been and is one of our top-ranking Congressmen and it was after full thought and consultation that we appointed him. It is not the convention to appoint a resident of the same province as Governor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
13 June 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter of the 12th June about Asaf Ali's appointment. The formal announcement about this has already appeared in the press.

B. Das's agitation does not seem to be justified at all. I am informing you for your private ear that the original suggestion about Asaf Ali's appointment came from Sardar Patel. I thought over it and rather liked it. I consulted some other colleagues who also approved of it. Then I communicated with Mahtab, the Premier of Orissa. Mahtab telegraphed to me that he wholeheartedly approved of the proposal. It was only then that I asked Asaf Ali. It is evident that the Orissa Government has different views on the subject from those held by B. Das. I myself think that Asaf Ali will make an excellent Governor specially of a place like Orissa. As for Aruna Asaf Ali I just do not understand why B. Das should get agitated. You should remember that Mahtab knows Asaf Ali very well as he spent nearly three years with him in Ahmadnagar prison camp.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

III. Cabinet Government and Cabinet Responsibility

1. To B. R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
27 April 1948

My dear Dr. Ambedkar,

On my return to Delhi this afternoon I read a report of your speech² recently delivered in Lucknow before the U.P. Scheduled Castes Conference. I must confess that I was surprised and distressed to read this speech. It raises certain rather fundamental matters about the functioning of the Cabinet and its members. There is an attack in it on individuals as well as on the Congress as such, and an appeal for bringing about divisions in the Congress ranks. There is a further appeal for the functioning of a purely communal political organisation which, I should have thought, is opposed to the recent declaration of policy by the Government in regard to such communal political organisations.

2. You are further reported to have said as follows:

There has been a large number of fifth columnists in our ranks and only when we expose them and strengthen ourselves will we be able to replace Nehru and Patel in a matter of days.³

3. There are many other passages of your speech as reported which seem very odd to me as coming from a Cabinet Minister. But I shall not quote them here.

4. We have welcomed your cooperation in the Government and in the Constituent Assembly and attached value to the work you have done. I am not aware of any occasion when any of my colleagues or I have done anything which might be termed discourtesy to you. I had hoped that this cooperation would grow and that we would continue to benefit by your advice and work.

5. Your speech, however, is such that I can hardly imagine any Cabinet Minister being responsible for it. It is an attack on the Congress which is

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50* Vol. 6, pp. 328-329.

2. The *National Herald* of 20 April 1948 quoted Ambedkar as having criticised Nehru, Patel and Pant for their policies and appealed to the Scheduled Castes to bring about fragmentation in the Congress ranks and make the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes a separate and large political party. Ambedkar had joined the Cabinet but not the Congress Party.

3. Ambedkar explained on 28 April 1948 that he had mentioned the "fifth columnists" as a divisive force among the Scheduled Castes, responsible for the rejection of their demand for separate electorates. If they would unite and form a political party, their voting strength could help them capture power even from such men of stature as Nehru and Patel.

responsible for the present Government. It is an attack on the Premier of the United Provinces and the U.P. Government,⁴ and it is an attack on me as Prime Minister and on the Deputy Prime Minister. You state clearly, if you are reported aright, that it is your purpose to push us out. Your reference to fifth columnists presumably means our colleague Jagjivan Ram as well as those who think with him. If these views had been expressed by you in private to us, the situation would have been embarrassing enough for both you and me. It is doubly embarrassing when public statements have been made. If ministers feel and speak in this way there is no Cabinet responsibility left. The Prime Minister might as well shut up shop.

6. I am not writing any more to you on this subject except to point out to you the serious consequences of the speech you are reported to have made. There can hardly be any cooperation or common working on that basis. I should be grateful to you if you let me know if the report is a correct one.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Ambedkar's version was that he had told the conference that the Chief Minister of U.P. gave only 10 per cent reservation in the services instead of 22 per cent because the Scheduled Castes were not a large and separate political party capable of substantially undermining his position in the legislature.
5. Ambedkar clarified that any suggestion that he was attempting to turn the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister out of office was "fantastic". The reference to Nehru and Patel in his speech had been general, and "there is no plot, there is not even an idea which has any foundation in personal ambition." His speech "related only to the future elections under the new constitution," and "had not the remotest reference to the present Government."

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
27 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned from Bombay this afternoon after spending four very strenuous days there. I feel tired and worn out. But immediately on arrival here I have to face a host of difficult problems.

2. Among them there is something new—Ambedkar's recent speech in Lucknow. You must have seen this in the newspapers. There is a somewhat

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50* Vol. 6, pp. 327-328.

fuller report of it in the *National Herald* of 26 April. I just do not see how Ambedkar can continue as a Minister in our Cabinet after this speech. I am writing a letter to him,² a copy of which I enclose.

3. There is so much that seems to me wrong that I do not know how and where to begin. On top of all this, most people's nerves are in a bad way due to overwork and perhaps heat. I have just received a letter from K.C. Neogy which is needlessly aggressive simply because of some minor decision of the Cabinet in regard to the Rehabilitation Board.³ As a matter of fact the Cabinet did not come to any decision at all, but elucidated a previous decision about the autonomy of the Board, and postponed further consideration to the next meeting when Neogy was likely to be present.

4. Dr. Bidhan Roy is here. I do not know what to do about Bengal and have requested Rajendra Babu to deal with the matter. I agree with you entirely that we cannot impose a decision on West Bengal and the party there will have to decide. But in any event, as in the Punjab, it is almost a 50 : 50 affair and whatever the decision, an unstable ministry results. In West Bengal, as in East Punjab, Ministers have joined in the requisition for a change of Ministry. This is a very improper practice. If a minister feels that way he must resign first.

5. I think it would be worthwhile for you to give Rs. 10,000 to Bidhan Roy for helping workers in East Bengal. If Bidhan ceases to be Premier, the money can be given to his successor.

6. One odd factor in the situation in West Bengal is that some of the prominent persons concerned are from East Bengal, such as Surendra Mohan Ghosh, not to mention Kiran Shankar Roy. I had a brief talk with Prafulla Babu in Bombay, and he seemed to think that the only way out of the difficulty was to have a new Ministry, jointly formed by him and Surendra Mohan Ghosh, one of the two being Premier. Perhaps this might be done. But even that Ministry is not likely to have too long a life. At the present moment it is rather doubtful which way a majority lies.⁴

2. See the preceding item.

3. Neogy felt that his ministry was being subjected to too much interference from outside.

4. Members of the West Bengal Congress Party, including two Ministers, three parliamentary secretaries and the chief whip, submitted a requisition to B.C. Roy for the reconstitution of the Ministry under a new leader. The crisis ended on 5 May 1948, with the 22 requisitionists withdrawing their demand and the other 30 expressing confidence in Roy's leadership. On 6 May, Roy tendered the resignation of his cabinet and as the leader of the majority party in the legislature formed a new cabinet with 9 out of 12 members from the old cabinet.

7. I feel your absence greatly. There are so many serious problems cropping up continually about which I would like to consult you. Apart from this there is the question of the ministries specifically under your charge. You will be issuing directions to them no doubt from day to day on important matters. Nevertheless, your absence will make them rather loose. In the States Ministry, V.P. Menon is frequently touring. In the Home Ministry Banerjee is far from satisfactory. In Information and Broadcasting Bhalja has apparently just taken charge. I do not know if you can suggest some procedure for these Ministries so that while important references should be made to you, some minister here can be kept in more intimate touch with them. Gopalaswami will be back in a day or two.

8. I received a number of letters from you today. One of them dealt with the possibility of our inviting journalists from the Middle East to India. I shall investigate that.

9. After Gopalaswami's return we shall have to send some formal reply to the Security Council about Kashmir.⁵ Also to send more definite instructions about Junagadh.⁶

10. As for appointing a Joint High Commissioner at Dacca, Prafulla Babu agrees. But now owing to the possible change in the Ministry in West Bengal, everything is in a melting pot.⁷

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. On 8 May 1948, India informed the U.N. that it could not accept the Security Council's original resolution of 17 April 1948 which requested Pakistan to withdraw the raiders, asked India to reduce its armed presence to the bare minimum, and further asked for full powers to the U.N. Commission and a U.N.-nominated Plebiscite Administrator to conduct a plebiscite in Kashmir, the fairness of which the Commission would certify. India, however, agreed to cooperate with the U.N. Commission within the limits set by the political situation.
6. On 6 May 1948, India conveyed that if the U.N. agreed to Pakistan's demand for a second referendum in Junagadh, India would not refuse, but it maintained that the first referendum in February 1948 was absolutely fair and the results of a second referendum would be identical.
7. Santosh Kumar Basu was appointed the first Deputy High Commissioner at Dhaka in November 1948.

3. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
30 April 1948

My dear Dr. Ambedkar,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th April.² As you have not seen the report of your speech, I am sending you a cutting from the *National Herald* of Lucknow. The speech has been reported in nearly all the papers at some length and you may have also seen editorial comments³ on it. There is little doubt that your speech has created something of a sensation and has disturbed and distressed many people.

2. The surprise and distress was all the greater for me because ever since you joined the Government at my invitation there has been no occasion when there was the slightest ill will between us. We have differed occasionally, of course, as even the most intimate colleagues can differ. But that difference has not come in the way of our cooperation and of our working together. I gladly acknowledge that cooperation from you during this period and the way you have helped all of us in working more or less as a team. When I invited you to join the Government, of course, I put forward no conditions.⁴ It seems to me unbecoming to attach conditions to an offer for cooperation in a common task. Of course certain consequences are inherent in such working together. For instance I am Prime Minister chiefly because of my position in the Congress organisation and because it is the Congress that was responsible for forming the Cabinet. My invitation to you therefore was more than a personal invitation; it was an invitation on behalf of the organisation I have the honour to represent. That organisation welcomed you not as one of its members but as a colleague in the Cabinet. I have not asked you to join the Congress. That is entirely a matter for you to decide whichever way you like. But inevitably our working together in a Cabinet, which is essentially a Congress Cabinet, means a certain goodwill towards the Congress or at least

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.

2. Ambedkar said that his speech had been intended to meet the criticism levelled against him by some of his followers as to why he had been silent since the departure of the Cabinet Mission and why he had joined the Congress Government. There was no hostility to the Congress, or reference to the Cabinet or any member of the Government.

3. *The Hindustan Times* regretted that Ambedkar, who had contributed to the Nehru Cabinet's achievements, should have made a public statement which could be interpreted as a confession of failure. *The Bombay Chronicle* accused him of opportunism and of bolstering his uncertain position through communalism.

4. Ambedkar had said that he had been asked to join the Central Government unconditionally.

an avoidance of anything that might be construed as an attack on the Congress.

3. What the future of the Congress is going to be is more than I can prophesy, though the latest indications from elections and otherwise are that it has a very powerful hold on the public mind and that it will continue to have that hold in spite of defections. But however that may be, you will appreciate that your references to the Congress, as reported, must hurt Congressmen and make them feel that you wish to undermine and destroy that organisation. You refer, as reported, that the Congress is a kind of enemy and persecutor of the Scheduled Castes which must be broken up by even greater fragmentation and thus made helpless.⁵ It is open to anyone to say this of the Congress, but coming from a colleague in the Congress Cabinet it does seem odd and rather hurts.

4. The Congress may have erred on many occasions, but I do believe that as an organisation it has done its utmost to raise the Scheduled Castes and all backward classes. I hope that you will not doubt my *bona fides* in this matter. Looking at it even from a narrow point of view I should imagine that it was to the benefit of the Scheduled Castes to have the powerful aid of the Congress rather than range themselves in hostility to it.

5. You refer to the resolution against communalism which the Assembly adopted and what I said on that occasion.⁶ Even before I had spoken to you on this subject the matter had been raised in our party meeting and I had made it perfectly clear that it was our duty to help in every way the Scheduled Castes and that this resolution was not meant to come in the way. That was what I repeated in my speech in the Assembly. But I did not mean that some kind of a communal organisation should be favoured for the Scheduled Castes in spite of that resolution. That resolution was quite clear about political communal bodies. We cannot go behind that resolution after giving it our full support. That support indeed was a reflection of the public demand to put down communalism in politics. I feel sure that any political organisation built up on a communal basis will not succeed in the future and will indeed do injury to the very cause it advocates.

5. Ambedkar was reported to have said that the Scheduled Castes would be in a position of power if the Congress was divided into various factions and groups.

6. In reply to Nehru's charge that he was advocating communal organisations Ambedkar had pointed out that in a Cabinet meeting Nehru had accepted in substance his view that the Scheduled Castes had to form their own political organisation to enforce safeguards. He had also said that Nehru had referred to this point in the Assembly debate on the resolution against communalism. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 37-38.

6. In the report of your speech you have referred to fifth columnists.⁷ I imagine this refers to members of the Scheduled Castes who have closely associated themselves with the Congress. Among them are many of our colleagues and notably Shri Jagjivan Ram. To refer to these colleagues of ours who have laboured so much for the cause of the Scheduled Castes as fifth columnists is hardly a gracious thing to do apart from its other aspects.

7. I have valued your cooperation in the Government and in the Constituent Assembly very greatly and I hoped that this would lead us into other fields of cooperation. Because of this the shock of reading your speech has been all the greater. For my part I want your cooperation to continue in the tasks ahead because I feel that you can serve the nation with conspicuous ability. I would not personally mind any criticism of me by you or anyone else. But the matter is not a personal one and it has an important public aspect. Newspapers are commenting upon it and I have received today a formal notice from a member of the Constituent Assembly informing me that he intends to raise this matter in the Assembly.⁸ For my part I should like, if it is possible, to clear this matter up before the public so that the public mind may be set at rest. That might be done if you could issue a suitable statement to the press.⁹

8. Tomorrow afternoon I am holding a press conference about Kashmir and Hyderabad.¹⁰ It is quite possible that I might be asked questions about your speech and I shall have some difficulty in answering it.

9. I shall be glad to meet you and discuss this matter with you at some time convenient to us both.¹¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Ambedkar had said that he had joined the Congress Government because the British had left the Scheduled Castes in the lurch and because there were many fifth columnists in their ranks and therefore the time was not right for conflict.

8. Algu Rai Shastri, a member of the Constituent Assembly, had written to Nehru demanding the removal of Ambedkar from the Cabinet.

9. On 2 May 1948 Ambedkar made a statement outlining the main points of his speech and declaring that any suggestion that he had attacked the Congress or his Cabinet colleagues was a "travesty of facts".

10. See *ante*, section 4, item 8.

11. In reply to this letter Ambedkar said that the *National Herald* had distorted his speech and that his justification for cooperating with the Congress had been omitted. If, despite the press statement, Nehru felt embarrassed he was prepared to resign. He appreciated that his joining the Cabinet implied certain restrictions but he reserved the right to advise his people.

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
2 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of 1 May.²

About Iengar I gave him your message and told him that I would not like to come in his way. I left it entirely to him. His present reaction is that he would like to continue his present work and more specially the Coordination Committee's work.

As regards the Cabinet Coordination Committee, we have discussed this informally in Cabinet on two or three occasions and there was general agreement about it. I myself feel that some such committee is quite essential. The small experience I had of the last C.C.C. was good and the committee worked smoothly. What we had there was a reproduction on a small-scale of what they had in England. They found there that some such machinery had become inevitable. This is not a matter of coordination in the economic and industrial sphere only, but of seeing generally that Cabinet decisions are carried out expeditiously and that normal routine delays do not occur. There is no intention of having any big secretariat. Practically speaking the existing Cabinet and P.M.'s Secretariats will function as they are, but jointly.

I have been going into the working of various departments, and I am amazed to find the delays occurring from lack of any contact with each other. There is a very marked deterioration in many of them. Ministers are often helpless and their own orders are not carried out promptly or are held up by some other department. There was a general complaint about this in the Cabinet and hence the idea of a C.C.C. was welcomed. There is no question of ministerial or secretarial responsibility being in any way superseded. It is only intended to facilitate the carrying out of decisions made. The C.C.C. will not take any decisions which the Ministers take. It is in fact a formal and expeditious counterpart of our informal Cabinet meetings.

The Economic and Industrial Sub-Committee of the Cabinet has, as you say, hardly functioned. It may continue to exist, but I do not expect much from it. I think the time has come for us to have a Minister for Social and Economic Affairs. But that will have to be considered a little later.

I have not found any undercurrent of suspicion amongst Ministers about the proposal to have a C.C.C. Indeed, the idea was generally welcomed. Nor should there be any room for suspicion among officers, for there is no question

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Patel had requested Nehru to persuade Iengar to accept the Home Secretaryship "as he is the only man who, I consider, could fill the post." Patel did not favour the setting up of a Cabinet Coordination Committee because of its earlier failure and the inherent danger of its superseding ministerial responsibility. He felt that the Economic and Industrial Sub-Committee could handle the work of coordination.

of any officer being interfered with in his work. Because of the lack of some such machinery, I am repeatedly compelled to convene meetings of some Ministers and some officers to consider particular matters together. Of course, in this as in other matters a tactful approach is necessary and Iengar has, I think, the necessary tact and ability. I fear that our governmental machine as a whole is working very badly. The C.C.C. will not work wonders, but it will help the present position which is a bad one and a deteriorating one. I am thinking of asking Gopalaswami Ayyangar to consider the administrative aspect of the Government of India machinery and to make suggestions for Cabinet consideration. I am really worried at the way things are done or more frequently not done. Everything appears to be at sixes and sevens, and it is difficult to fix responsibility for delays. At the very least it can be said that some effort to improve matters is called for. If that effort is not successful, then another change can be made.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

P.S. I might inform you that some little time back Shanmukham Chetty asked me to let Iengar take up the Finance Secretary's job. Narahari Rao³ is going soon and his place has to be filled.

3. Vyakarana Narahari Rao (1893-1969); joined I.A.A.S. 1917; held various posts in the Finance Department and in Foreign and Political Department till 1937; Deputy and later Joint Secretary, Political Department, 1937-44; Additional Secretary and later Secretary, Finance Department, 1944-48; Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 1948-54.

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
12 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

On my return here today I found a number of your letters. I am leaving tomorrow midday for Simla. I shall, therefore, only write to you briefly. Some of the matters will, I hope, be discussed by us when we meet in Mussoorie.

1. J.N. Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

About the Cabinet Coordination Committee,² the matter was on the agenda because it had been previously discussed on several occasions. There was again a brief discussion and it was then postponed chiefly because of your wishes. I shall discuss this with you when we meet.

About Iengar³ I have told you my difficulty. My work has become so terribly heavy that I can hardly cope with it with the assistance I am getting. However, I was waiting to know what the future set-up of the Cabinet Office and the Coordination Committee might be before any final decision was made.

Of course, we must accommodate you in any matter that you wish and postpone consideration of it till we have your views. I do not know to what specially you refer. Some of the cases that have been considered have been pending for a long time. I am more and more feeling that some radical changes are necessary in our governmental set-up which is fast deteriorating. However, I shall discuss this matter with you.

About N.C. Chatterjee, I entirely agree with you that appointments should not be made for communal or political considerations. It was because I felt that his name had been recommended by the people in Bengal on political grounds that I drew your attention to it. Chatterjee has been among the topmost half a dozen of Hindu Mahasabha leaders and has been very anti-Congress. However, as matters have gone pretty far in this connection you can certainly go ahead with his appointment as additional judge.

Regarding the influx of Muslims from Pakistan, our policy is clear enough. The difficulty comes in implementing it, specially on the Sind-Rajputana border. You must have seen the Cabinet decision⁴ on this. We are asking the military to take some steps on that border to prevent large numbers coming through. Most of the Muslims who have come to Delhi recently are from the U.P. or other parts of India. They had left Delhi during the disturbances.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. Patel wrote that "as regards the Cabinet Coordination Committee, you seem to have decided not to wait for a discussion with me," and it was "therefore unnecessary for me to make any further comments on your observations on that matter."

3. Patel asked Nehru to take an early decision on Iengar's appointment as Home Secretary.

4. In view of the large-scale movement of Muslims from Pakistan to India from March 1948, the Government of India, with a view to regulate the entry of people, introduced on 19 July 1948 a pass system for different categories of travellers.

6. To P. Subbarayan¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Subbarayan,

I have your letter of the 11th May. I do not know why you took the trouble to consult Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru over such a matter. I have myself no doubt that the Premier has the power to change portfolios or indeed the whole personnel of the Cabinet if he so chooses.² I think past experience supports this view. Apart from the purely constitutional aspect, it is the common-sense view if we have the type of Government that we have now. This, of course, has nothing to do with the merits of the question or whether the Premier acts rightly or not.

This does not mean that the Premier should interfere with the work of his colleagues. The Premier is the acting and coordinating link between all the departments of Government and nothing should be done to weaken that link.

I shall be reaching Ooty on the 31st evening or afternoon and I hope to leave Ooty on the 3rd morning. I hope to see you there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 4 April 1948 Subbarayan told the press that he had resigned as Home Minister of Madras because the Premier interfered with the administration of subjects entrusted to him.

7. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
26th June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have not written to you for many days but I had news of you from other people. I am glad you are improving in your health and I do hope that you will be able to come here soon. We miss you very greatly.

1. J.N. Collection.

There are innumerable things about which I should like to consult you, but I shall not write about them now. I am going to Srinagar for a day tomorrow. V.P. Menon was to have gone with me but I understand that he will be visiting you tomorrow.

To add to our worries the Kashmir Commission of the Security Council proposes to descend upon us early next month. Their advance guard is likely to come within a day or two.

There is one matter which I should like you to consider especially. You will remember that a proposal to ask Gopalaswami Ayyangar to consider the reorganisation of Government machinery was placed before the Cabinet about a month ago. The idea was that he should first make a rapid survey and then discuss in Cabinet how the enquiry should be carried more fully. The matter came up before the Cabinet on two or three occasions. We are not deciding anything except that Gopalaswami should undertake this preliminary work for the time being. A brief report from him was also circulated. Just about that time your letter came to me suggesting that the consideration of the matter be postponed for some time to enable you to send your views. We postponed it nearly three weeks ago. I do not think you have written anything about it since then. In the last meeting of the Cabinet I was asked when this matter will be considered again.

I suggest that we might go ahead with this. No decisions can be taken till the matter has been enquired into fully. We are only at the enquiry stage now. There is some urgency about it as many other matters are rather hung up.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

10

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

IV. Attitude to Communists

1. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram of 9th April to Iengar² about Communist Party deputation³ and *Daily Worker* article. You can receive deputation in accordance with usual practice.

2. West Bengal Government banned Communist Party without consulting us.⁴ They informed us later that serious situation had arisen and preparations for armed conflict were being made by Communist Party. Several serious incidents had already taken place and there were open incitements to violence.

3. Information from other parts of the country indicated that the Communist Party's policy in India had undergone complete change and deliberate violence was encouraged and sabotage of security services was feared. Our private intelligence gave us information of this deliberate reversal and throwing overboard completely of P.C. Joshi who is no longer even a member of Executive.⁵ External influence utilized for this purpose.

4. No question of action against trade union leaders or workers arose or of preventing any labour activity. We are averse to banning any labour organisation. But in view of open incitements to violence and probability of sabotage we decided to permit arrest and detention of a few persons so suspected. Some provinces rather exceeded their instructions, but on our pointing this out many persons arrested have been discharged.

5. *Daily Worker's* article is completely misconceived.⁶ No question of trade union leaders being arrested because of industrial strife. They were

1. New Delhi, 11 April 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. H.V.R. Iengar.

3. A deputation of the British Communist Party led by William Gallacher, R. Palme Dutt and Arthur Lewis Horner met Krishna Menon, Indian High Commissioner, on 16 April 1948, and protested against the arrest of Communist and trade union leaders in India and pleaded for their immediate release.

4. On 26 March 1948 the West Bengal Government had declared the Communist Party of India an unlawful association.

5. The Communist Party of India, at its Second Congress from 28 February to 6 March 1948, adopted a programme of insurrectionary activities for installing a "revolutionary" government in the country and removed P.C. Joshi. from General Secretaryship.

6. *Daily Worker*, in its issue of 9 April 1948, alleged that "the Nehru Government has done nothing to counter the acute agrarian crisis which is ruining millions of peasantry or to improve the lot of the workers among whom discontent is rife" and "has abandoned the progressive social measures to which it was pledged and has thrown in its lot with the Anglo-American imperialists."

arrested because of violence or projected violence.⁷ Dange's case came before the Bombay High Court which rejected his *habeas corpus* application.⁸

6. We deeply regret action that has been taken and trust most people arrested will be discharged. General situation in India has been and is difficult and any attempts at violence may lead to very serious consequences.

7. At the South East Asian Youth Conference held in Calcutta from 24-27 February 1948, it was laid down that the Communist parties should initiate and lead violent insurrections and civil wars in the South and South East countries. In the Second Congress of the Communist Party of India from 28 February to 6 March 1948, the newly elected Central Committee condemned the Draft Constitution of India. Ranadive felt the time was ripe to engineer final revolution. Shock brigades and guerilla bands were organised.
8. S.A. Dange, President, All India Trade Union Congress, was arrested on 2 April 1948 under the Public Security Measures Act and his *habeas corpus* application was dismissed with costs on 9 April.

2. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
1 May 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

The enclosed telegram may interest you. I am quite sure that you have done the right thing in opening out canal waters. The thought of large numbers of people suffering for lack of water was distressing me greatly. I do not think any momentary advantage can balance this kind of thing.

I am rather worried at the large number of arrests and detentions made in various parts of the country. I find that apart from West Bengal where the Communist Party was declared illegal, the number of arrests in Punjab has been far the greatest. When the Government of India suggested that certain selected Communists who were suspected of sabotaging or similar dangerous activities should be arrested and detained, we made it clear that we intended no general rounding up or large numbers of arrests. We were not banning the Communist Party or communism but arresting individuals for dangerous activities. In most provinces just a few persons had been arrested. In at least one province no one was arrested. But in Punjab I understand that hundreds of people were arrested on this plea.

Our action in this respect has had repercussions all over the world and I am afraid our reputation has suffered. Our ambassadors have received deputations of protest and I have received numerous messages from other parts of the world. In India also there is a growing feeling that we use our special powers much too easily and copiously. In the long run no government can afford to build up such a reputation.

I suggest to you, therefore, that you might review the cases of those under detention in East Punjab and keep only those against whom you have positive evidence. The fewer we keep in detention the better.

I understand that a number of your detenus are on hunger strike and that one of them is a very old man aged 85.² I have no sympathy for hunger-strikers, but it does seem odd that a person of over 80 should be detained in prison.

My information is that the R.S.S. people are beginning to function again in public though under different guises and are spreading poisonous propaganda. I hope your government will keep a watchful eye on this. In view of the situation in Hyderabad we have to be particularly careful that no communal trouble arises anywhere in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Baba Sohan Singh Bhakkna, a Communist leader.

3. To C. M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
3 May 1948

My dear Trivedi,

Thank you for your letter of April 28th. You will forgive me if I do not acknowledge each one of your letters separately.

The question of riot insurance has been considered on several occasions by the Cabinet and they have been unable to find a suitable way for doing it. I do not know what your present scheme is which is with the Finance Ministry. I shall enquire about it. There are some inherent difficulties about such a matter. If it is limited to East Punjab the burden will be great; if it is spread all over India, considerable objections will be raised.

I find from your letter that arrests of Communists have continued. I am rather concerned about any arrest being made simply because a person is a

1. J.N. Collection.

Communist. That was not our intention. Indeed we made it clear that only persons against whom there was definite evidence of dangerous activities leading to sabotage should be arrested. The discretion must lie with the provincial government. As a matter of fact, arrests made in other provinces have been relatively few, usually under ten, except in West Bengal where the Communist Party was banned. In East Punjab I understand that the arrests of this kind have numbered hundreds. Our Government is being severely criticised in other parts of the world because of our keeping large numbers of people interned without trial. I have received numerous representations through our ambassadors. In India too there is an uncomfortable feeling that we resort to these measures too frequently and too copiously. I have written to Dr. Gopichand² about this matter and requested him to have cases of arrested persons examined and not to keep any person under detention unless there is special reason for it. We may have to give these reasons to the public.

I am rather worried about a certain recrudescence of R.S.S. activities. There is little doubt that the situation has changed for the worse in recent weeks and requires the closest attention.

As regards Mohan Singh's Desh Sewak Sena,³ I was definitely given to understand by Dr. Gopichand that it would not continue and that it would be absorbed in some way in some official organisation. I understood that the National Volunteer Corps might absorb them. I am quite clear that a private organisation of this kind should not be permitted.

I have had information of private arms factories in East Punjab. Many of the unlicensed arms that you refer to may very well come from these factories and some kind of a drive is necessary to put an end to this kind of thing.

I am quite clear that while we do not wish to stop free movement, we cannot allow large numbers of people to come across the border from Pakistan and upset our economy. Even from the point of view of administrative convenience, Government should know of such movements and should only permit them when arrangements have been made.

I am sorry to learn of the interference in administration by local political workers. This kind of thing is bound to lead to deterioration and lack of cohesion.

I entirely agree with you that the Kulu Valley in the Kangra District should be developed rapidly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See the preceding item.

3. General Mohan Singh of the I.N.A. had not disbanded his private army called Desh Sewak Sena despite the Government's ban on private armies.

4. To O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar¹

New Delhi
5 May 1948

My dear Premier,

I enclose a letter in original together with a note which I have received. I shall be glad if you will personally interest yourself in this matter. Is it true that over a thousand persons are detained in the jails of the Madras province?² I am alarmed at these large-scale internments as well as the other charges made in the note attached. I shall be grateful if you could let me know how matters stand.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7 (63)/48-PMS.
2. Ramaswami Reddiar replied that only about 300 persons were arrested solely in the interest of maintenance of peace and that the Government of Madras was not truncating civil liberties.

5. To Hare Krushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
8 June 1948

My dear Mahtab,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd June.² I have already written to you separately about Asaf Ali.³

I am sorry you are having some trouble with the Communists and the Rulers of the States.⁴ I hope you will deal with the Communists individually if they give trouble. I do not want any more banning of organisations. We have got a bad name for this outside. As for the States, they cannot do anything much, but sometimes they are troublesome. I agree with you that the sooner the legal changes are made, the better.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Hare Krushna Mahtab Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In this letter, Mahtab agreed to Nehru's suggestion of Asaf Ali becoming the Governor of Orissa.
3. This letter written on 26 May has not been printed.
4. Mahtab had stated that the Communists were making preparations for an armed revolt and that the Rulers of the States of Patna, Kalahandi and Dhenkanal were agitating against the proposed merger of the States with the province of Orissa.
5. Mahtab stated that the Bill enabling the Government of India to merge the States with the provinces should be passed immediately.

6. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi

8 June 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

I am writing to you as also to other Premiers about the large number of arrests of Communists and others. We have been very much criticised in foreign countries on this subject and even in England we are now being called a police state where civil liberties have vanished. Naturally we have to take steps to prevent disorder and sabotage. Communists have been misbehaving in many places and action had to be taken against them.

But there is always a great danger in allowing the police free play in this matter. My fear has been that a large number of totally unnecessary arrests might be made and thus bring us into disrepute.

I enclose a paper I have received from Mr. Syed Mahmud's son² who is under arrest as a Communist in Bihar. I do not know about his activities but reading his letter I must say that I am surprised at the kind of charges that are being brought in justification of his internment. I have little doubt that some of the facts mentioned are untrue but even if all of them were true I see nothing to catch hold of. The charges are entirely vague. If such charges are brought forward and action taken on them in regard to a fairly prominent individual then it is not unreasonable to imagine that there must be many cases where there is absolutely no ground for detention.

It is clear that so long as the Communist Party is not declared illegal, a person cannot be arrested merely because he is a member of that Party. There must be other substantial ground. Normally in case of an offence the matter should be sent to the courts, only in special and very serious cases should an internment take place without trial. We are now doing exactly what we have bitterly opposed in the past.

I am writing to you because I know that our reputation is suffering very greatly. I should like you to go into this matter and check the activities of the police and to see to it that no one is kept in internment without adequate and sure cause. I am not merely writing to you about this particular case of Dr. Mahmud's son but in regard to all others in like cases.

If the facts as stated in the charges framed are false (as pointed out in the enclosed letter) then an explanation should be asked for from the persons concerned as to how false statements have been made.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Syed Habib, second son of Syed Mahmud, was a member of the Communist Party at that time.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

V. Income-Tax Investigations

1. To R. K. Shanmukham Chetty¹

New Delhi

7 June 1948

My dear Shanmukham,

Dharma Vira² has already written to you about the question that came up before the Cabinet regarding the Income-Tax Investigation Commission.³ I am sorry I could not write to you earlier as I had to dash off to Ooty for the E.C.A.F.E.

We have got rather entangled into this matter. I would have much preferred that it should have been taken up in your presence. But legal and other difficulties have arisen and been pointed out to us. Our Law Ministry told us that any reference to the tribunal before a certain date could not be withdrawn by Government and that any such attempted withdrawal has no effect. In fact, the Commission have from all accounts taken no steps at all to return the papers and the groups of cases which the Finance Ministry sought to withdraw from them.

Another point arises in view of possible legal difficulties as well as public criticism, and so it seems safer to leave the whole matter to the Commission. They can easily say that they do not wish to proceed with certain references because of lack of sufficient evidence. For Government to say so at a late stage may be misinterpreted. So for the present we are doing nothing and the position seems to be that the Commission are charged with all the cases originally referred to them and they can proceed with some and not with others. We appear to have no power to withdraw or take any other steps.

As this matter concerns your Ministry specially your advice was very necessary. But as it was raised and the legal difficulties pointed out we could not very well insist on a withdrawal by Government now. Neogy will probably also write to you on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1906); joined I.C.S. in 1930 and served in various capacities in U.P. till 1941; Joint Secretary to Cabinet, 1947-50; Principal Private Secretary to Prime Minister, 1950-51; Commercial Advisor, High Commissioner in London, 1951-53; Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 1954-56; Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1956-62, and Ministry of Works, Housing and Rehabilitation, 1962-63; Chief Commissioner, Delhi, 1963-64; Cabinet Secretary, 1964-66; Governor of Punjab and Haryana, 1966-67, West Bengal, 1967-69, and Karnataka, 1969-72.

3. In March 1948, the Dominion Parliament referred to a select committee the bill to amend the Taxation of Income (Investigation Commission) Act, 1947. The Amending Act permitted withdrawal of cases referred to the Commission with the permission of the Commission. The Commission was headed by S. Varadachariar.

2. To S. Varadachariar¹

New Delhi
25 June 1948

Dear Mr. Varadachariar,²

I am writing to you about the Income-Tax Investigation Commission. The matter came up before the Cabinet today and it was decided to extend by ordinance the date of the submission of references by two months, i.e. to the end of August, 1948. The Amending Act XXIII of 1948 fixed the date as June 30th.

The question came before the Cabinet with reference to a letter of the 12th March, 1948, sent by the Ministry of Finance to the Secretary, Income-Tax Investigation Commission, stating that the Central Government withdrew certain cases which had previously been referred to the Commission, under Section 5(1) of the Taxation of Income (Investigation Commission) Act, 1947. We were informed that no reply or acknowledgment had been received to this letter and we were not clear what the effect of that letter was. Under the original Act there was no specific provisions made for a withdrawal. The Amending Act which came later had such a provision but this was to take place with the permission of the Commission. The legal position, therefore, was not at all clear to us. Unfortunately the Finance Minister is away in London carrying on discussions on the sterling balances. Meanwhile, the time of reference and withdrawal ends on June 30th.

The general view of the Cabinet was that any withdrawals should take place with the approval of the Commission. This was also the view of the legislature as is shown by the Amending Act. We were not quite clear in the circumstances and in view of certain legal difficulties that were pointed out what we should do in regard to this matter. We decided, therefore, to extend the period of reference and consequently of withdrawal also by two months to enable this matter to be considered fully after the Finance Minister's return. Incidentally this will enable fresh references to be made if necessary during this period of extension.

I should like to make it clear again that in the matter of these references the Cabinet desires to be guided by the Commission's advice.

Naturally, it would not be proper for members of Government to consult you about the merits of any case. That is entirely for you to consider and

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1881-1970); Advocate of Madras High Court, 1930-34; Judge of Madras High Court, 1934-39; Judge, Federal Court of India, 1939-46; Chairman, Income-Tax Investigation Commission, 1948.

decide. It is the procedure that is troubling us and in regard to which we would welcome any suggestion or advice that you might give.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To K. C. Neogy¹

New Delhi
25 June 1948

My dear Neogy,

As we have decided to issue an ordinance extending the period for making references to the Income-Tax Investigation Commission, I think it is desirable to inform the Chairman of the Commission immediately. He should not read about it in the newspapers rather suddenly. I am, therefore, sending him a letter, copy of which I enclose.

After the Cabinet meeting today I had a talk with the Governor General. I informed him about this proposed ordinance. He felt rather strongly that after any reference has been made to the Commission the Government should not interfere in any way. This he thought was not only improper from the judicial point of view but also impolitic.

He raised the question of Vaish² also with me of his own accord. He had heard about this and was disturbed by it. I told him about our discussion today in the Cabinet.

You will have noticed that almost every member of the Cabinet was perturbed in regard to this case. This of course had not much to do with the individual in question whom none of us know but rather the principle involved. Our whole income-tax structure might collapse if our officers felt that they would not be supported.

I should like you to put it on record for the information of our officers that we intend to support them fully so long as they do not of course commit any error. Further that we shall safeguard Vaish's interests and see to it that he does not suffer in any way, subject to the enquiries that are being held.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. B.L. Vaish, an Inspecting Assistant Commissioner in the Finance Ministry, while posted at Ahmedabad, had assessed a mill's disclosed income and concealed profit. That mill complained that it had not been given adequate opportunity to explain its figures and that the assessment was made by Vaish with a view to speculate on the shares of the mill.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

These enquiries should be expedited so that we can come to a rapid decision in regard to Vaish and connected matters as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To K.C.Neogy¹

New Delhi
28 June 1948

My dear Neogy,
Thank you for your letter of the 28th June.

I do not understand why an enquiry into Vaish's conduct should be held up because of Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai's "inability to disclose his cards till he hears a final word regarding squashing of his assessment". I do not myself see any vital connection between the two, or rather if there is a connection why it should lead to delay in disclosure. I think it is unfair to Vaish to be hung up in this way. We should inform Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai that we have to come to a decision in Vaish's case on the data before us; and if he is unable to supply us with fresh data soon, we shall have to proceed without it. Of course if subsequently some new facts come before us which deserve consideration, we shall consider them.

This matter, as you know, has become a major issue and most of the members of the Cabinet as well as the Governor General feel that the treatment of Vaish by Government has not been all that it should have been. When this matter comes before the public it will no doubt raise a big controversy. We have therefore to proceed very carefully so as not to give any opportunity for adverse criticism about any treatment of ours of Vaish being unfair.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Shanmukham Chetty, in his letter of 17 July 1948 to Nehru, conveyed that "Vaish has been completely exonerated as a result of police investigation" and that "Vaish's reposting to Ahmedabad should remove all apprehensions."

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

VI. Memorial at Birla House

1. To Mathooradas Trikumjee¹

Bombay
26 April 1948

My dear Mathooradasji,²

I have your letter of the 26th April. I have not seen Kishorilalji's³ article in *The Bombay Chronicle* about Birla House.⁴

There is very strong feeling among large numbers of people in the country on this subject. That is to say a feeling that the whole of Birla House should be acquired by the nation. But, as you know, Birlaji does not like this idea at all. Obviously whatever has to be done should be done with the consent of the parties concerned. Compulsory acquirement would mean ill will and would rather take away from the purpose for which we acquire it.

We shall tackle this matter again. I myself think that in view of Birlaji's objection we should not ask him to give up the house, but we should certainly have that piece of land where Bapu used to hold his prayer meetings daily and near which he was shot and killed. It may be possible to separate this from the house. I am quite sure that the country and people generally will be dead against our not treating this piece of land as consecrated and belonging to the nation.

I am sorry I have been unable to see you during my brief visit to Bombay, and sorrier still to learn that you have been unwell.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A relative of Mahatma Gandhi; leader of the Congress Party in Bombay Corporation, 1939; Mayor, Bombay Corporation, 1940.

3. K.G. Mashruwala (1890-1952); exponent of Gandhian principles and political worker; lawyer in Akola, 1913-16; participated in Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930, and Quit India Movement, 1942; editor, *Harijan* and other Navajivan group of weeklies, 1948-52; author of *The Purification of Life, The Foundations of Education, The Revolution from the Roots, Gandhi and Marx* and other books in Hindi and Gujarati.

4. In his article *What Birla House Stands For*, published in *The Bombay Chronicle* of 24 April 1948, K.G. Mashruwala said: "Let it not be said by the future generations that with all his loud assertions about identifying himself with the humblest of Harijans, Gandhi died in a princely palace... It would be a warning to public spirited persons that, if they wanted to retain their ancestral property to themselves, they should not receive great leaders in it."

2. To G. D. Birla¹

New Delhi

7 May 1948

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,

You know that ever since Bapu's death there has been a strong and persistent agitation about Birla House in New Delhi. Throughout the Assembly session, I received requisitions from over a hundred members of the Assembly and questions were asked at our party meetings. This matter was raised again and again and there was almost a unanimous sense of our members that Birla House, because the tragedy occurred there, should belong to the nation. I did not think this was the correct approach to this problem and I tried my utmost, with a great deal of success, to prevent the question being raised in the House. I promised that I would consult you and some of my colleagues.

The matter is obviously a delicate one and I can quite appreciate your feelings about it. I realise also that Bapu would not have liked you to be inconvenienced in any way. Nevertheless it is true that there is very strong feeling in this matter and that feeling does not pay too much attention to personal considerations. I appreciate that feeling myself and can understand that. But for my part I would not like that feeling to induce us to take any action contrary to your wishes in the matter.

It is clear, however, that the feeling will continue and will be a constant source of embarrassment to all of us. I have given careful thought to this matter and wanted to discuss it with you, but unfortunately I have found no occasion to do so.

I am now writing to you to put forward a proposal for your consideration. I might add that this particular proposal has not been mentioned in the Congress Party or in the Assembly or to anyone else except to two or three persons. The proposal is that Birla House, that is, the entire building should not be touched and should remain in your personal use. But the place and the garden where Bapu used to have his prayer meetings and the place where he was shot might be separated from the House and the rest of the garden and used as a memorial or a place where people could visit. It could be left more or less as it is, as it would be a pity to change it. Some minor alterations might be necessary, and the spot where Bapu was shot down might be clearly indicated by a small pillar or column, three feet high. This area might be separated from the main house and grounds and connected separately with the public road. Exactly where the line of demarcation should come can be considered later. The first question to be decided is whether you would wish some such thing to be done.

1. J.N. Collection.

I have long hesitated to write to you on this subject, but I feel that I must do so now and clear up, if possible, this matter. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly let me have your views about this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
20 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your letter dated 13 May about Ghanshyamdas Birla's House.² You will notice that what I wrote to Ghanshyamdas referred not to his house as such but to the prayer ground where Bapu used to hold his meetings and where he was shot. This can easily be separated from the house without any damage to it. I should like your opinion about this particular matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 73.

2. Patel wrote that he could "not conceive of a more objectionable way of perpetuating Bapu's memory or of bequeathing to the nation and to posterity a reminder of that great tragedy." He also thought that Birla should be suitably compensated if the house was to be taken over although he did not like yielding to public pressure on this account.

4. To G. D. Birla¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,
Thank you for your letter of the 12th May.²

I appreciate entirely what you have written about your house in Delhi. You will remember that I did not suggest in my letter that you should give up your house, nor indeed is there any question of what might be termed a memorial to Bapu being constructed there or in the grounds.

What I suggested to you was that a small part of the ground including the summer house where the prayers were held and the spot where Bapu was shot down might be separated from the rest of the house and grounds and left for the public to come and go. A very large number of people look upon that place as some kind of a shrine and I must confess that, irreligious as I am, I share that feeling and if I pass that way I bow my head.

I do not wish to suggest anything which has a trace of compulsion or which you thoroughly disapprove. It is ultimately for you to decide of your own free will. I can only make a suggestion, and the suggestion I made was I thought free from the many criticisms that might be put forward. It would not interfere with the house which is your family house and with which are associated so many of our memories.

I talked to Rajendra Babu about this matter also and he seemed to approve of my suggestion.

Perhaps I shall meet you in Mussoorie in another two days' time.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. G.D. Birla Papers.
2. Birla said he had intended to gift his house to the Government to be used as the residence for the Prime Minister. After the death of Mahatma Gandhi he felt like offering "the house and the premises as a whole for Bapu's sacred memory and would prefer that the whole rather than a part remains an object of hallowed memory."
3. On 25 May 1948, Nehru and Birla discussed this matter at Mussoorie and Birla agreed with the proposal made by Nehru in his letter of 7 May 1948.

5. To G. D. Birla¹

New Delhi
3 June 1948

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,

I have just returned from Ooty and received your letter of the 1st June. Thank you for it. I am writing in haste and briefly.

2. I have thought over all you have said,² and I think that your offer of the house as Prime Minister's residence is a very generous one. But for a number of reasons, both personal and public, it is difficult for me to adjust myself to this. I will feel uncomfortable in the house now with all its memories. Apart from this, certain arrangements have already been made in regard to the C.in.C.'s house.

3. I think that all that is necessary is for you to make it easy for visitors to go to that part of the garden. No formal separation or isolation of it is necessary. No legal change is necessary; nor need any formal announcement be made. How this might be done could easily be worked out by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Birla wrote that he would feel much relieved of his mental debt, a resolve made in 1942 to donate the Birla House to the Government on attainment of India's freedom, if Nehru took over the house as a gift from him to the Government, preferably as a residence for the Prime Minister.



MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

VII. Housing

1. To N. V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
5 May 1948

My dear Gadgil,

I enclose a letter from Mrs. Pearl S. Buck about an eminent engineer, Octave W. Imer.

It is not quite clear to me whether Imer wishes to come to India on his own account or whether he expects some specific assignment. His record is a very good one and Pearl Buck's recommendation is worthwhile. Normally we should welcome a man of this type in India especially at the present moment. I suggest that your Ministry might communicate with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. To R. K. Shanmukham Chetty¹

New Delhi
29th May 1948

My dear Shanmukham,

You will remember that we have been discussing in Cabinet here the re-organisation of our Cabinet and governmental machinery so as to bring about greater speed and coordination. At a recent Cabinet meeting it was suggested that you might also acquaint yourself with this while you are there.² You will be busy, of course, and the proper way for us to proceed is to ask our High Commissioner to have a note prepared on the subject. I have, therefore, requested Krishna Menon, who is returning to London this evening, to collect this information. When this is done, he will show it to you and speak to you on the subject.

Some of the people accompanying you, that is the service men,³ might also acquaint themselves with the British governmental procedure. This will help us in framing our own rules and conventions.

1. File No. 28 (14)/48-PMS.

2. Shanmukham Chetty had gone to London as leader of the Indian delegation for the tripartite talks on sterling balances.

3. V. Narahari Rao was the senior official adviser.

Dr. Koenigsberger, the architect from Mysore, is being sent by us to England to investigate the possibilities of having a building factory set up in India. This matter was discussed by us here in Cabinet while you were here. We are not committed to any particular method or firm and various methods should be investigated by him. He will then report to you. You could forward his recommendations to us by telegram when the time comes with your own suggestions. The decision will be taken by Cabinet here. The Cabinet is, however, likely to fall in with any of the recommendations made by Koenigsberger which are approved of by you.

I think that we must make a start with at least one building factory.⁴ Possibly we might want more or some provinces may start their own. It will be better to run this factory entirely as a governmental concern, that is, by the Central Government.

In the third or fourth week of June there is a conference on housing and building at Zurich in Switzerland. We are sending a representative from here. Koenigsberger might as well attend this conference as an adviser or in some other capacity. I hope that by the time he and you return some specific proposals will have been considered by us and finalised so that orders might be placed. I want to cut across the normal routine methods which delay. The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power should, of course, be consulted and they will be consulted at every stage, but this should not delay matters.

I hope your visit will bring satisfactory results.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Hindustan Housing Factory was set up at Delhi by the Government of India in 1950 for the manufacture of prefabricated houses to rehabilitate displaced persons.

3. A Central Government Enclave¹

I have no objection to this note being placed before the Cabinet for discussion, but I do not personally appreciate the principle behind it, that is, the idea of having a Central Government enclave at a suitable place away from Delhi. I entirely agree that it is undesirable to concentrate offices in Delhi or even in Bombay and Calcutta. I think that everything that can be conveniently moved away to another suitable centre should be moved away. Further

1. Note, 10 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

that new institutions should, as far as possible, be started at other places than Delhi.

But it is one thing to start these institutions at other places and quite another to choose a special Central Government enclave where they can be concentrated. It seems to me easier and more desirable to spread out these offices in various suitable towns and cities of India than to try to develop a miniature Delhi elsewhere. This latter place would have all the disadvantages of Delhi without any of its advantages. That is to say, it will be a relatively small purely governmental centre with no breath of fresh air coming into it. While if institutions or offices are spread out in existing cities and towns they will live a normal life in more normal environments, and they will participate in and add to the amenities of existing cities.

To have a regular enclave, as suggested, will probably mean much more expenditure also. It would mean more building and more amenities which may not exist now. It will, in fact, mean building a new city on a small scale. That is a tremendous undertaking at any time, more so in the present circumstances when all our resources should be concentrated in providing housing for not only refugees but for large numbers of others who are houseless.

I suggest, therefore, that a provisional rule might be laid down that wherever possible any new offices or institutions should be located at places other than Delhi. The exact place of its location should be decided separately in each case. The first thing to do is to find out what are these new offices and institutions that have to be catered for or that might conveniently be taken away from Delhi. When we have this data, we can consider each case separately.

4. To N. V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
23rd June 1948

My dear Gadgil,

During your absence in Simla we had a meeting of the Housing Committee at which representatives of your Ministry were present. I was amazed to find that the P.W.D. had functioned with extreme dilatoriness in spite of the grave urgency of the problem and in spite of my having asked them to expedite their work. They tried to cast the blame on the Finance Ministry but it seems clear to me that Finance was not at fault. I must say that not only I but most people present there formed a very unfavourable impression of the working

1. J.N. Collection.

of the P.W.D. We issued some immediate directions as to what should be done to expedite the building of houses round about Delhi. We laid down a programme. How far this is being adhered to I do not know. I asked the P.W.D. people also to present to me a note on how new rules should be framed to expedite all work connected with relief and rehabilitation. I have not received this note yet.

I want you to look into this matter as it is of serious concern and there is very grave dissatisfaction. But apart from this matter the larger question of the P.W.D. functioning has also to be considered. It is clear that it is not functioning properly and that it has a genius for delay and obstruction. If there is this delay even when a special committee presided over by the Prime Minister is urgently interested in the problem, then in ordinary matters there will presumably be infinite delay. The P.W.D. has got a bad name. Whether this is past inheritance or due to the manner of working of the present staff I cannot say. Whatever it may be, the present is bad and everyone from Secretary downward must be pulled up or replaced. We simply cannot put up with incompetence and delay in matters which require swift handling.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To N. V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
23 June 1948

My dear Gadgil,
Your letter of the 23rd June.

It is true that I intend moving into the Commander-in-Chief's house sometime about the middle of the next month. It may take a little longer to get ready for accommodation. As for the two bungalows in the Viceregal Estate one should go to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and the other I should like Sardar Patel to stay in. I am not quite sure if he would agree. It would be very convenient if he went there. In case he does not go there, I would suggest Dr. Matthai moving there. Of course this is subject to his own consent. If Matthai moves there his house might be occupied by another minister.

The two houses that become vacant by our moving elsewhere should, I think, certainly be reserved for foreign embassies, as you suggest. I might mention that the owner of 17 York Road² has visited me and pressed for the return of his house to him when I leave it. I told him that while I sympathised

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Now Maulana Azad Road.

with him the needs of our foreign embassies were great. He then said that he had to live in hired quarters and further that he had been promised a piece of land to build another house some years ago on his proposal to take legal action to get possession of his own house. This piece of land had however not been given to him. Is it possible for you to give him some land to build a house?

I note what you say about 23 Aurangzeb Road. I do not know which house this is.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To N. V. Gadgil¹

New Delhi
23 June 1948

My dear Gadgil,

I had a visit from the American Ambassador. He complained bitterly of the delay in deciding about Bahawalpur House² as well as the Taj.³ I do not know all the facts but whatever the facts may be, there is no reason why there should be delay in arriving at a decision. Some months ago I wrote to you about Bikaner House.⁴ That deal fell through and since then the American Embassy have wanted to purchase Bahawalpur House. *Prima facie*, I see no reason why they should not be allowed to do so.

About the Taj, I should like to have information. One thing however is quite clear that we cannot turn out hundreds of American employees from the Taj without finding adequate accommodation for them. Further I am told that you intend increasing the rent of the Taj very considerably, in fact over three times. This seems a very big and somewhat unreasonable increase. Normally one does not try to exploit a foreign embassy but to give it as good

1. File No. 7 (58)-Pt/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

2. In his reply dated 25 June 1948 Gadgil wrote: "I did not favour the transfer of both Bikaner and Bahawalpur Houses to the American Embassy, but agreed to transfer the former at your request. It is from your letter under reply [that] I know for the first time that Americans now want Bahawalpur *in lieu* of Bikaner."

3. A housing complex consisting of temporary barracks built during the Second World War near Connaught Place in Central Delhi.

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 494-95.

terms as possible. Our foreign relations are in a delicate stage and we should not try to make them worse by making the foreign diplomats feel that they are not wanted here. I should like to have information about all these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To B. C. Roy¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 8th June about the Centre for the International Health Organisation.²

I do not think it will be possible to give Belvedere for this Centre. Cabinet has already decided to send the Imperial Library there.³ Libraries if they are to be of any use to anybody cannot be cramped but should be spread out and made pleasant places for students and others to work in. Besides, we intend expanding that Library. We must, therefore, leave Belvedere completely for the Library.

It is our general policy to locate central and international organisations in various parts of the country, i.e. not to collect them in two or three principal cities. Thus we have definitely decided that we will not have any such office in Delhi in future, unless there are very urgent reasons for it. Indeed we are thinking of removing some offices from Delhi and taking them to provincial cities. In the same way we want to spread out several of our national and international organisations all over India so that the whole of India may profit and there may be no great concentration. What applies to Delhi applies equally to great cities like Calcutta and Bombay and it seems to me undesirable to collect any more of such institutions in these big cities. Of course inevitably a great city attracts other institutions. That process will continue but there is no reason why we should give it a greater push than is absolutely necessary. There is also the terrific problem of accommodation.

1. File No. 2 (197)/48-PMS.

2. Roy desired to have such a centre and requested that because of paucity of accommodation in Calcutta, a portion of 'Belvedere', the old Viceregal Lodge in Calcutta, be given for this purpose.

3. In September 1948, the Government changed the name of the Imperial Library established in 1903 to the National Library, and in December the Library was shifted from Esplanade to 'Belvedere'.

As for Hastings House,⁴ we had previously decided to make it a museum of relics and antiquities of the British period in India but in view of your desire to use the House as a women's university, our Cabinet has changed its previous decision. Hastings House, therefore, can now be used for women's university which you intend starting. We understand that Barrack-pore House⁵ will now be used for the museum for British relics.

I might mention that we are trying to get the houses of some Princes in various parts of India for some of our national and international institutions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

4. Roy had also asked for the transfer of the Hastings House, a building gifted to Warren Hastings by Meer Jaffer Ali in 1763, for housing a women's university. It was renovated in Lord Curzon's time and used as a guest house for visiting Indian rulers. For over a hundred years from about 1815 the building housed the Hastings School as well. It is now used as a teachers' training college for women.
5. This house, with a large park, was the country-seat of the Governor General and for some time also of the Commander-in-Chief. At present the Police Training School and the Detective Training School of West Bengal are located there.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

VIII. Honours and Awards

1. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
10 June 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th June about honours and awards in India.² You will remember that the Government accepted generally the proposals put forward before them and requested you, with your special knowledge, to help us to work out the details. I would suggest that this process of working out the details might be entrusted to Brockman³ now who could consult you. It is hardly necessary to get in touch with Banerjee⁴ at this stage. The finalised proposals could then be considered by the Government or, if necessary, previously by some of us.

Personally I have no particular views about the suggestion made in paragraph 2 of your letter.⁵ If Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar agrees to it, I am also perfectly agreeable.

Brockman's note⁶ on Police and Fire Service medals was, I believe, overlooked on the last occasion. I shall see that it is put up again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. Mountbatten wrote that while Gopalaswami Ayyangar had agreed with all the proposals relating to honours and awards in India in the future, he was opposed to the institution of an order for distinguished work in literature, art, science and public service, as this would be contrary to the spirit of the Draft Constitution.
3. R.V. Brockman.
4. R.N. Banerjee.
5. Mountbatten and Ayyangar agreed that there should be three new independent orders and one new medal instituted. Each of these four awards would have a separate distinctive Indian name and this, Ayyangar thought, would avoid all discrimination between them.
6. Brockman favoured continuing the Police and Fire Service medals as work of a high standard was being carried out in those services and they should be given proper recognition.

2. Future of Honours and Awards¹

As a result of recent talks between the Governor General, Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar and myself, I have thought it convenient to set out for my colleagues in one paper the complete proposals regarding the future of Honours and Awards in India. These proposals may conveniently be considered under six headings:

- (1) the reconstitution of the Order of the Star of India;
- (2) the institution of new Orders and a Medal for distinguished work in science, literature, art and in the public service;
- (3) the institution of new Gallantry Awards for the Services;
- (4) the continuation of Awards of Police and Fire Service Medals;
- (5) the institution of Civil Gallantry Awards; and
- (6) the continuation of awards for humanitarian work.

(1) The reconstitution of the Order of the Star of India

At the Partition Council Meeting held on Wednesday, the 6th August 1947, Sardar Patel and I agreed, on behalf of the future Government of India, that in States which had acceded to India the Ruling Princes might continue to receive decorations from the King. The Governor General proposed that the Order of the Indian Empire should no longer be used for this purpose and that the Order of the Star of India (to which name there were no political objections) should continue to be awarded. The Governor General also informed us that the King was in favour of the continuation of the Order of the Star of India in a reconstituted form and as a link between the Crown and the Ruling Princes.

Due to the very great changes affecting the States the proposals for the reconstitution of the Order have been held up, although the matter has been kept under constant review by Government House and the Ministry of States. The stage has now been reached, however, with regard to the Indian States when it is possible to proceed with proposals for the reconstitution of this Order, and I attach as enclosure I, a paper, to which the major ruling Princes, Sardar Patel and I have agreed, which shows what is intended.²

1. This undated note was circulated for the Cabinet meeting to be held on 18 June 1948. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. According to the agreed proposals there was to be in future only one class of the Order of the Star of India which would carry the status of the G.C.S.I. and it was to be awarded for meritorious services to the Rajpramukhs of the Unions of State and certain categories of other ruling princes.

Nothing in these proposals conflicts with the Draft Constitution and I hope my colleagues will agree that the suggestions for the reconstitution of the Order are satisfactory. I think the best way to get the matter finalised is for Lord Mountbatten to take these proposals back with him in the first instance for informal discussion with the King, and the official submission can go forward later.

(2) The institution of new Orders and a Medal for distinguished work in science, literature, art and in the public service

At our meeting on Sunday, the 30th May, 1948, when we last discussed the institution of a system of Honours and Awards for India my colleagues will remember that the view which was put forward was that whilst medals and decorations could and should be given, the institution of an Order would not be in accordance with the spirit of the resolution of the Constituent Assembly on this subject.

Subsequently Mr. Goplaswami Ayyangar and I had talks with the Governor General, at which the former enlarged on this point. Mr. Goplaswami Ayyangar's view, if I have interpreted him correctly, is that the Draft Constitution emphasises the equality of all in the Indian Union; and he feels that the institution of a new Order with four classes as suggested by the Rau Committee would imply a measure of superiority in each class above those in classes below, which would be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. To meet this point, the Governor General has now suggested that there should be three new independent Orders—each with its own decoration or insignia and one new Medal instituted. The first Order might I think rank immediately after the first class of the Order of the British Empire, the second Order might rank immediately after the second class of the Order of the British Empire, and the third Order might rank immediately after the third class of the Order of the British Empire; all these three Orders might have insignia respectively of the same type as the first, second and third classes of internationally recognised Orders. The Medal might rank immediately after the fourth class of the Order of the British Empire. Each of these awards will no doubt have a separate, distinctive Indian name and this, Mr. Goplaswami Ayyangar feels, will avoid all discrimination between them.

Mr. Goplaswami Ayyangar emphasised once again what we have already agreed on, that the new system of Honours and Awards in India should carry no titles of any sort, nor should recipients be entitled to place words or letters before or after their names as with the British Orders.

I attach as Enclosure II³ details of how these revised proposals might work out, based on the original recommendations of the Rau Committee.

(3) Institution of new Gallantry Awards for the Services

These proposals have already been approved by the Government on Thursday, the 6th May. The only question of doubt was the names for the three new Awards, and instructions given at that meeting were that recommendations should be put up for consideration by the Government after a fortnight. This matter is now becoming urgent, as there are many outstanding cases of gallantry in Kashmir which should receive recognition as soon as possible. This matter must therefore be finalised at an early date.

(4) Continuation of Awards of Police and Fire Service Medals

The continuation of these Awards for gallantry only was approved by the Government on Thursday, the 6th May.

(5) The institution of Civil Gallantry Awards

The grant of an Award for extraordinary gallantry in civil life was approved by the Government on Sunday, the 30th May, but the linguistic experts should be instructed to report at an early date suggestions for new names.

I desire, however, in the case of both categories (4) and (5) above, to draw the attention of my colleagues to the Minority Report by the Private Secretary to the Governor General attached to the Rau Committee Report and which is to be considered by the Government on Friday, the 18th June, 1948. I do not think we went into this Minority Report in any detail at our recent meetings, and I think it desirable that a decision should definitely be taken on the points raised therein.

(6) The continuation of awards for humanitarian work

The grant of awards for humanitarian work was approved at our meeting on Sunday, the 30th May.

The proposal is that there should be three classes of Medals corresponding to the present Kaiser-i-Hind gold, silver and bronze medals. For the first class there should be an annual maximum of 20, for the second class an annual maximum of 40 and for the third class an annual maximum of 80. Here again the linguistic experts should report at an early date the proposals for the new name in place of *Kaiser-i-Hind*.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

I do not think it necessary to bother my colleagues with the detailed proposals for processing the recommendations for the various awards. These can be dealt with in due course, and the main thing is I feel to obtain agreement on all the above proposals before the Governor General leaves, in order that he may be in a position to take these recommendations back to the U.K. with him for discussion with the King.

MATTERS OF ADMINISTRATION

IX. General

1. To R. S. Shukla¹

New Delhi
12 May 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th May.

I quite appreciate that careful watch be made to prevent illegal traffic in arms. The only two points to be borne in mind are that this should be done without discrimination and that all courtesy should be shown to passengers.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqui² is both an ex-Mayor of Calcutta and the head of an insurance firm as well as a member of the provincial Legislative Assembly. His journeys do appear to be frequent according to the reports sent by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (d. 1953); nationalist Muslim and businessman; Secretary and General Manager of All India Medical Mission to Turkey, 1912-13; went to London to place the Arab case before the British Government in 1938; Mayor, Calcutta Municipal Corporation, 1940-41; Manager, *Comrade* (Calcutta); Editor, *Morning News*, a Calcutta daily; in later years a member of the Muslim League; founder, Eastern Federal (Insurance) Company; representative of Muslim Chamber of Commerce in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1947-50.

2. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
6 June 1948

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th June² about a ceremonial dress for the Governor General, Governors, Ministers and representatives of the country abroad.

There can be no doubt that there should be some kind of a ceremonial dress. For the present the dress laid down for our diplomatic representatives abroad is a black *sherwani*, for women a black sari.

1. File No. 2 (154)/48-PMS.

2. Mountbatten wrote that Rajagopalachari had suggested that a white silk gown with gold border would be the appropriate ceremonial dress which "would suit all shades and varieties of personalities and would impress East as well as West as appropriate." Mountbatten wished to know if this matter could be finalised before 20 June 1948.

I am afraid it is not at all possible to finalise this matter before the 20th June, as suggested. I shall put the matter before the Cabinet. It is an intricate and difficult question which will probably require a great deal of consideration before it can be finalised.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
9 June 1948

My dear Syama Prasad,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th June and the pamphlets. I had seen some of these but not the one on tribal repercussions.² If it is possible for your friend to send this to us, I shall be grateful. We have got a person working on producing some pamphlets and we hope to have the help of some people from the East Punjab Government who are also collecting material. There is a further proposal for something more to be done in this direction. I do not myself see how a committee can easily function in preparing pamphlets unless each one does a separate pamphlet. A committee can, of course, generally supervise the work.

I have already written to Bhabha³ asking him to join in the presentation to the Mountbattens.

I am returning the five pamphlets.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Government of Pakistan had issued several pamphlets including "The Sikhs in Action", "R.S.S. in the Punjab", "Kashmir before Accession" and "Tribal Repercussions to the events in the Punjab, Kashmir and India".

3. C.H. Bhabha had resigned from the Central Cabinet on 6 April 1948.

4. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
10 June 1948

My dear Amrit,

I had a visit from Colonel Mirajkar² this morning who seems to be a homeless wanderer without any place to sit in. An eminent surgeon like him, who is in demand in various parts of India, should have no difficulty in being fixed up. Apparently he has neither a fixed abode nor any place or hospital where he can work in an honorary capacity. I should have thought that it would be an acquisition to attach him to an hospital.

This reminds me of Susanta Sen's proposal for a clinic in Delhi. This matter has been hanging fire for two years to my knowledge. It is true that such a clinic would be mainly for the well-to-do classes though there is no reason why it should not provide for some others also. There is a great demand for some such thing in Delhi as I know from personal experience. Our embassies and legations have also pressed for it as they do not know where to go to when necessity arises.

Government need not and should not put in money into such a private or semi-private scheme but I think it is up to us to give facilities such as land. A clinic of this kind would absorb quite a number of competent doctors who are drifting about in Delhi and would bring relief to a large number of other persons also, patients, etc. A man like Mirajkar would immediately find a place in it. Indeed he is associated with this scheme. I hope you and your Ministry will look into this matter again and if possible give it a push.

I had a visit also from Dr. A.N. Pichaimuthu, F.R.C.S.³ whom you know well and whom you sent, I believe, to Jullundur. She is obviously highly qualified and should be given an opportunity to do good work. I am not sure how you are situated in the Irwin hospital and other hospitals in Delhi, more specially in regard to gynaecology. Perhaps she could be asked to work there for the present.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 40 (48)/48-PMS.

2. Vaman Raghunath Mirajkar (1887-1971); F.R.C.S.; joined I.M.S. 1914; served abroad in various countries till 1920; was on military duty in India till 1926; Professor of Physiology, King Edward Medical College, Lahore, 1926-30, and Professor of Surgery, 1932-47.

3. A member till 1947 of the Women's Medical Service.

5. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
15th June 1948

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of the 15th June,² I am glad you have drawn my attention to the advertisement issued by the Home Ministry.³ I had not myself seen this.

I do not think that Cabinet has at any time considered or decided about women joining the new administrative service. What the Cabinet did once consider related to women joining the foreign service. Consequently I have issued orders that women can join the foreign service, though the number so joining may well be few to begin with.

I suppose the Home Ministry is merely carrying on the tradition of the old regime. I shall gladly put up this matter before the Cabinet meeting of the 18th. But in the absence of Sardar Patel it will be rather difficult to come to a decision. Personally, I am entirely in favour of the bar being removed and women being allowed to join the home service.⁴

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 35 (5)/48-PMS.
2. Amrit Kaur had written that the rules for emergency recruitment to the I.A.S. as published in the press on 12 June discriminated against women by declaring them ineligible for appointment. She suggested that the issue be discussed in the Cabinet.
3. A government notification about emergency recruitment scheme, published on 12 June 1948, stated: "Women are not eligible for appointment to the Indian Administrative Service and Indian Police Service."
4. On 17 July 1948, the Government notified that women were eligible for I.A.S. and I.P.S., and the last date for submission of applications under the emergency recruitment scheme was extended from 5 July to 1 August 1948.

6. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
18 June 1948

My dear Pantji,

The Auditor General² of India has drawn my attention to an order apparently issued on behalf of the U.P. Government to their Accounts Officer suggesting that deductions be made from officers' salaries for the Mahatma Gandhi

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Bertie Munro Staig.

Memorial Fund. You will remember that something of this kind was mentioned at Mussoorie when we were there. I hope that this order, if issued, has been withdrawn and that our officers have been told to exercise no pressure, direct or indirect, in the collection of this Fund.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
22 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June. I appreciate the difficulties in regard to the States that you have pointed out. I rather doubt, however, if these difficulties will all be solved by October. I suppose it could have been possible to make suitable provision for this kind of thing.

What has worried me most is the psychological effect in the country of long postponements of the Constituent Assembly.² I have already heard many caustic comments about it from men who count. It is said that we are not serious about constitution-making or any change in our present status. We are happy as we are and intend sticking on in places as long as we can. They find further that making a new Constitution for independent India fades away. However, as you have made your decision, there is nothing more to be said about it.

It is not possible for me to say when I am likely to go out of India and when I am likely to return. The dates for the Premiers' Conference have not been fixed yet. The U.N. Assembly lasts from the 4th week of September to at least the end of October and possibly more. I do not, of course, intend staying for the whole of the session of the U.N. Assembly. But if I go, I should like to visit it for a week or ten days, attend the Premiers' Conference in London and pay a number of other rather important visits in Europe. Vaguely, I was thinking of being away for the whole of October. I would not like you to postpone the C.A. even for a week or two more to suit my convenience. My part in it is not very important and in any event important work ought not to be held up because of any individual's convenience.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 32 (101) /48-PMS.

2. After its adjournment on 30 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly, but for a meeting on 27 January 1948, did not meet till November 1948 to consider the Draft Constitution.

CONGRESS PARTY AFFAIRS

1. To Damodar Swarup Seth¹

New Delhi

7 April 1948

My dear Damodar Swarup,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 31st March. The point you have raised² is rather a difficult one because all members of our Party in the Assembly are supposed to be members of the Congress. If you continue in the Assembly you will have to do so as an unattached member. Still I think that you should for the present continue and not resign. If the matter has to be reconsidered again in view of other developments, we shall do so.

I am very sorry for this breakaway of many of our colleagues from the Congress. But this will certainly not affect our mutual affection and esteem.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Damodar Swarup Seth had asked whether a Socialist should resign from the Constituent Assembly also on leaving the Congress.

2. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai¹

New Delhi

11 April 1948

My dear Rafi,

I have received your letter this evening and as you know I am leaving very early tomorrow morning. However busy I am, I can always find time to meet you and have a talk with you if you will but let me know.

What you have written to me obviously requires the greatest thought and I would like to have a talk with you about it.² I am, I suppose, at least as much distressed by recent developments as you can possibly be. Indeed because I shoulder a greater responsibility my distress is all the greater. I doubt myself if existing conditions can continue for long. Obviously I cannot, as nobody can, just run away from a difficult situation. Hence I have given the most intense thought to this matter.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Kidwai had written on 11 April 1948 that the Congress Governments were not functioning effectively and ministers and M.L.A.s had lost contact with public opinion. He suggested that "some of us should devote ourselves to remedy these evils and to check the irresponsible measures of Governments. That can be done only by persons who are not members of any Government."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I want to have a chance of discussing this with you. Meanwhile, I wish to say only this that it will be, I think, very wrong and injurious for you either to resign immediately³ or to take part in the election campaign in the U.P.⁴ Indeed even if you wanted to resign, that itself should be a reason for your not taking part in the election campaign. By taking any such steps now, you will do good neither to the cause that you have at heart nor to yourself. There would be exceeding bitterness and personal issues will tend to dominate matters of principle.

You have some excellent friends whom you consult. But I rather doubt their wisdom or their foresight. Besides, something that may be appropriate for another person may not be appropriate for you or me. I would therefore strongly urge you not to resign or to take any part in the election campaign, or indeed to issue any statement about this matter.⁵ It is often better to be silent than to have one's say.⁶

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. Kidwai wrote that he had not been happy in the Government and sought Nehru's permission to resign. He wrote that he was tempted to join the Socialists when they set up an independent organisation.
4. He had written that he intended taking part in the district board elections in U.P. and might support candidates who were more loyal Congressmen than the Congress candidates but were not selected by the party because they were not favourite with the selectors.
5. In a statement of 26 March, Kidwai regretted the absence of an opposition party to the Congress and welcomed the formation of the Socialist Party.
6. Kidwai wrote on 28 May 1948: "The other alternative was to do something through the Congress. I encouraged friends to think of me as a possible president. I don't know why it should involve resignation from the Cabinet." He preferred U.P. between the two.

3. Territorial Jurisdiction of the Congress¹

This is not the time for making such suggestions. It is completely outside the

1. Intervention in a debate on amendments to the Congress constitution at the A.I.C.C. meeting, Bombay, 24 April 1948. From *National Herald*, 25 April 1948

purview of the Congress organisation to consider such propositions² brought before it. This is a body meant for the purpose of considering questions regarding national entity, that is, the Indian Union today.

By what line of logic or reason can you make this constitution function in East Bengal? It is hundred per cent impossible for it to function. We can view this from two aspects. One is, that you ask a couple of thousands of people of East Bengal to migrate to Calcutta and form a separate body. The second is, while remaining in East Bengal they should owe allegiance to the Indian Union.

That is not fair. You, the people of East Bengal, think of something that is absolutely unfair and impossible. If you consider yourselves to be citizens of the Indian Union while still remaining in East Bengal you will prove yourselves to be aliens just as other Indians in Afghanistan or any other country are. And if you individually choose to come to the Indian Union you will be doing the greatest disservice to your brethren left over there.

I would specially advise the people of East Bengal that not a single person who feels he is a worker, leader or one who has got some voice among the masses, must come away from there. If you people decide to come over to the Indian Union, over sixteen to seventeen million people will be marching away from East Bengal.

It is a dangerous course to adopt and the Congress, organisationally, can just do nothing. Do you, the people of East Bengal, consider yourselves as citizens of India? However sympathetic you may be towards the Indian Union you cannot escape calling yourselves citizens of Pakistan. You will be committing a mistake if you think otherwise. You will be doing a great disservice to the citizens of East Bengal. You must consider yourselves as citizens of Pakistan. That is the only way.

I appeal to the house to consider this question thoughtfully. I am personally inclined to think that this proposal is out of order and should be rejected.

What is required of the people of East Bengal is that they should stick to their guns and not give up any of their rights. I know that the people have difficulties, but what the movers of the amendments suggested is not the way to solve them. If you remain in East Bengal you are in sufficient numbers to protect yourselves and fight for your rights. It is your duty to remain where you are so that the people also remain there, and to help them in their plight. I have no doubt that you are having difficult times, but you are not getting out of them by trying to run away from them.

2. Rajkumar Chakravarty (East Bengal) wanted the location of the provincial headquarters to be left to the Bengalis. He was supported by Fakir Chandra Roy (West Bengal) who regretted that the A.I.C.C. could not decide on the existence of a Congress organisation in East Bengal. Pratap Majumdar (East Bengal) suggested an amendment permitting the functioning of a separate Congress organisation in East Bengal. The amendments were withdrawn and article three, relating to territorial jurisdiction, was adopted in its original form.

4. A.I.C.C. Elections¹

The A.I.C.C. has every right to reject the resolution, but I am resigning my membership because I think it is unfair for the present members to continue without being re-elected. I also expect that many others will be resigning with me.²

1. Intervention in a debate at the A.I.C.C. session, Bombay, 25 April 1948. From *National Herald*, 26 April 1948.
2. A resolution calling upon all elective Congress Committees to elect their office bearers and executives was rejected. After Nehru's intervention, a division was called for, which resulted in the adoption of the resolution.

5. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
6 May 1948

My dear Pantji,

I have seen you from time to time here or in Bombay, usually at Committee meetings. I have hardly had an opportunity to discuss anything with you. Perhaps if I had anything very specific, I would have spoken to you. But what I had to say was rather general and required some leisure, and so I waited for a better opportunity.

I have been feeling more and more distressed because of developments in the country. I am not referring exactly to what might be called purely political developments, distressing as some of them are. I am worried much more by what appears to be the progressive collapse of the morale and idealistic structure that we had built up. The process has been going on long enough. But to some extent Gandhiji kept us up to the mark. With his going that great check has also gone. We grow self-complacent and self-satisfied and do not realise sufficiently how we are going down in the world's eyes. I can tell you that we are going down rather rapidly in world opinion. We have stood for long exemplifying ideals and principles and now our actions belie our old professions. Of course life is a complicated business and in politics specially one has to compromise. Nevertheless this process of moral deterioration and disintegration in our public life is alarming. We are losing the support of idealists and those who attach value to principles. More and more we rely upon our administrative and coercive apparatus of Government. Circumstances compel us to do so to some extent,

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

but each step leads to another and I do not know where ultimately we shall land ourselves. In this process we become more and more the prisoners of that very administrative apparatus. We must rely upon it and support it and if we do so we have to put up with much which we do not like.

The Communists in India have misbehaved very greatly, the Socialists have acted very foolishly. It is easy to criticise them. But have we acted very rightly or wisely? I doubt it. It is always difficult to see one's own mistakes and errors. There was a time when we opened our arms to others provided they accepted certain principles. Now we are becoming just an exclusive narrow-minded political party, living on the capital we earned long ago. Inevitably this leads to a going back, a reaction. We are being dubbed as reactionaries and narrow-minded nationalists in the bad sense of the word by many of these people in foreign countries who have supported us in the past and who have been good friends of our national movement. I do not think it is enough to say that we are conscious of our rectitude and therefore we do not mind what others say. No man can look at himself properly. We have to see ourselves as others see us.

I find now all manner of reactionary elements taking refuge in the cry of "down with communism" and "down with socialism" I find senior Government officials drifting back to their old ways and misbehaving often enough though in a somewhat different field. The services are so important today in this context as they have ever been.

This is just a brief attempt to give you a glimpse of my own mind. I feel unhappy and out of place. I must therefore talk about this to some of my closest colleagues. Perhaps they can help me to understand the situation or perhaps they could help in giving a twist to this situation which is more in conformity with our oft-professed ideals and objectives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
29 May 1948

My dear Pantji,

What is happening to the U.P.? I see from the newspapers that one thousand Congressmen have been summoned for disciplinary action, pre-

1. J.N. Collection.

sumably for what they did in the recent district elections.² If we have to proceed by these wholesale purges and expulsions I just do not know what the Congress will be in future. Whether these measures are in any way connected with the forthcoming Congress elections, I do not know, but the timing makes one doubtful and this leads to the suspicion that an attempt is made to keep out all persons who are not liked by provincial or local groups from participating in the elections.

As you know I have not intervened in any way in provincial matters. I do not even know what has been happening except for vague reports and rumours that reach me but even these vague reports have continued to disturb me and this final item of news about one thousand has been a bit of a blow.

I do not wish to intervene even at this stage though if it did any good I would like to come to Lucknow for a day to have a talk with friends and old comrades. But I confess I have no great confidence in myself in this matter. I have, however, written to Rajendra Babu drawing his attention to these developments and suggested that he might help in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S. I see from the papers that Tandon³ is standing for election to the presidentship of the P.C.C. I suppose he realises that he cannot be Speaker and President of P.C.C. at the same time.

2. On 27 May 1948, the Disciplinary Action Sub-Committee of the U.P.P.C.C. had called for explanations from more than 1,000 Congressmen for acting against or opposing official Congress candidates in the district board elections.
3. Purushottamdas Tandon, who was speaker of the U.P. Assembly, was elected President of the U.P.P.C.C. on 5 July 1948.

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
29 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am greatly worried at news from the U.P. I do not wish to interfere myself but I should like to draw your attention as Congress President to developments there. I read in the newspapers that one thousand Congressmen

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.

are charged with indiscipline and have been summoned for enquiry. This sounds very much like an inquisition and an attempt to get rid of people before the elections who might be inconvenient. I do not know who is involved in it and not a single name has been mentioned to me but the general background is alarming. I do not see how the Congress can continue functioning in the U.P. if this procedure is adopted. It will become a small rump and a clique out of touch with vital elements in the province; all our attention will be taken up in these personal squabbles.

I suggest to you therefore that you might take personal interest in this matter and perhaps discuss it with Pantji. This must be done as early as possible and certainly before the date for the Congress elections.

I am grieved that such a fate should have befallen my province of which I used to be so proud. I cannot do much myself in it and I hesitate to intervene in any way. Either one does this fully or not at all; there is no middle course. In a matter of this kind it is obviously desirable to have the viewpoint of different persons and groups because a one-sided account is apt to emphasise some factors and not others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
30 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I wrote to you about the U.P. the other day.² There is one fact which specially troubles me. Purushottamdas Tandon, the Speaker, is standing for the presidency of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. I do not mind very much Tandon participating in controversial politics, though I do not fancy this. But it seems to me quite wrong for any Speaker to be the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. If you agree with my viewpoint, I suggest that you might point it out to the U.P. people and more especially to Purushottamdas.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, N.A.I.

2. See the preceding item.

3. In a letter of 9 June 1948 Rajendra Prasad said that he had written to Purushottamdas Tandon and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai that their positions as Speaker of the U.P. Assembly and member of the Union Cabinet respectively made it undesirable that either be also elected President of the U.P.P.C.C. He asked Nehru to help in settling the differences.

9. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
7 June 1948

My dear Pantji,
Keshav² gave me your letter. I have been very worried about the state of the Congress organisation in the U.P. Also about many other things. The reports that reach us about widespread corruption all over India, including the U.P., are frightening. I wish I could help in the matter. But it seems improper for me just to rush up in a few hours and dolc out good advice.

As a matter of fact it is hardly possible for me without upsetting so many other engagements to go to Lucknow for this meeting either on the 12th or 13th. De Valera is coming here on the 13th, and on the 12th. I shall probably go to Dehra Dun to see the Sardar. Rafi has just suggested to me that the P.C.C. meeting might be postponed to sometime in the last week of this month. I shall certainly try to attend it and go to Lucknow for a couple of days for the purpose.

Meanwhile, I do hope that neither Tandon nor Rafi will contest this election for the Presidentship. There is no hope for the Congress organisation in the U.P. if a fierce contest takes place now and results in extreme party feeling and bitterness. I agree with you in this.

If possible, I shall come over to Naini Tal on the 11th for the day. I hope you will be there then. It is at present proposed that the Mountbattens or at least Lady Mountbatten should also go to Naini Tal on that day. We shall go by plane to Bareilly and I hope car arrangements will be made there. We hope to return early on the 12th morning.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. K.D. Malaviya.

10. To Purushottamdas Tandon¹

New Delhi
7 June 1948

My dear Purushottamdas,
I have been wanting to write for some time. But a succession of events has prevented me from doing it. Even now I am writing in some hurry

1. J.N. Collection.

and cannot say all that I have to say. Perhaps we might meet before long and have a good talk. That is long overdue. We should at least try to understand each other as we have done in the past, even though we might not wholly agree. I hope that, however we might differ in our views, we have respect and affection for each other and that after all is the fundamental thing in human relationship. All of us have to carry our burden ourselves and decide what course we have to pursue in this dense jungle, that is called public life and public affairs.

For the present I am writing to you about a particular matter. I am distressed to read in the newspapers, and sometimes hear from old colleagues in the U.P., of the state of Congress affairs in the U.P. Of course this can be said about any province in India. But I am naturally more interested in the U.P. and I am distressed beyond measure when I feel that things are not shaping very well there. I wish I could help. But I have become a prisoner in Delhi. Of course what help I can give will be forthcoming.

I have heard a rumour that you might stand for the Presidentship of the U.P.P.C.C., also that Rafi might stand for this office. I have been quite clear in my mind that any such contest will be injurious and harmful to our cause. I do not know whether you have any intention of standing, nor indeed did I believe that Rafi would stand. Anyway I advised him strongly not to do so. May I offer the same advice to you? You are too big a man to enter into these wretched contests which unfortunately are invariably run on strict party lines and sometimes even personal lines. I think you should continue as the Speaker of the U.P. Assembly and it seems obvious that you cannot do so if you choose to become President of the P.C.C.

I am quite sure that your influence in public life will be far greater as an independent person not seeking election by contest, but above all party, advising and guiding others. It is good that our new generation of Congressmen might be made to feel that some people at least are above this party business and are not enamoured of office, but can nevertheless exercise a powerful influence on others.

I do not know the exact state of affairs in the U.P. nor am I acquainted with many of the younger people. I am afraid my memory rather sticks to the old guard. So it is a little difficult for me to say much from personal acquaintance. But I have a general understanding of the position and sufficient knowledge of the background. I should say that in the present state of affairs, what is urgently needed is a pulling together of Congressmen and an avoidance of party disputes. I am worried when I see large-scale purges being indulged in by Congress committees in the U.P. This can only result in a weakening of the organisation and in a trail of bitterness. I would hope therefore that in the elections that are coming there should be no vital contest for the high offices, but that some person or persons should be

chosen by common consent. It may be that some of the topmost people have to keep out because of this. That will do no harm. They can always guide by virtue of their position. In the election of the Council also I would like some of our best people to be chosen regardless of party affiliations. Let them be elected by all means, as you and I have always stood for as against nomination. But that election will be a bad election if it has been preceded by a bitterly contested presidential election. If the President is chosen by common consent the other elections would be more normal and it really does not matter who is then elected to the Council.

I am exceedingly sorry I cannot come to Lucknow for this meeting because De Valera is coming to Delhi on that very day as our guest. I am told there is some chance of the meeting being postponed. If so I shall gladly attend.

I earnestly hope that you will give consideration to what I have written above.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12

FOREIGN POLICY

I. General

1. Indians in Burma¹

We may approve of the action proposed by the Ambassador.³ Since he has been informed privately and demi-officially by the Judicial Minister³ I think he should send him a demi-official reply. He might in addition address the Burmese Foreign Minister⁴ formally, provided this does not involve any breach of confidence shown to him by the Judicial Minister.

Our Ambassador should be reminded to keep in touch with the leaders of Indian opinion in Burma so that he may be able to carry them with him in any step he might take.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 10 April 1948. File No. 32/48-OS-II, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. M. A. Rauf, India's Ambassador, had suggested certain changes in the proposed legislation on citizenship of Burma for the benefit of the Indian residents who wished to acquire citizenship of Burma.
3. Tin Tut.
4. Kyaw Nyein (b. 1915); Secretary-General, Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, October 1946; Minister for Home and Judicial Affairs, February 1947-48; Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, November 1948-49; Minister for Cooperatives, 1951; Minister for Industry, 1953; Acting Foreign Minister, 1954; Deputy Premier, 1956-58; member, caretaker Government of Gen. Ne Win, October-December 1958.

2. Organisation of Haj¹

I think that some kind of a central Haj committee with its headquarters at Delhi is desirable. It is not possible now to get this reconstituted by a special motion in the Constituent Assembly, as the Assembly has been adjourned and it will be too late when the next session takes place. As however the functions of such a committee will be purely advisory, there should be no difficulty in appointing it temporarily. This committee would advise the Haj Department of the Commonwealth Relations and might also keep in touch with shipping companies and give such help to pilgrims in shape of advice, etc. as may be necessary. I agree that it is impracticable for pilgrims to have to obtain permission of this Haj committee. We should stand by the agreement made by the Commerce Ministry that pilgrim ships will be free of control.

1. Note, 11 April 1948. File No. 18-2/48/Haj, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. It is desirable to have such a central Haj committee both for practical reasons as well as for psychological reasons. It should not appear to the Muslim public that we have lost all interest in this Haj pilgrimage since partition. As a country having a very large Muslim population we owe a duty to them in this respect as in others.

3. I think that some grant should be given to this committee for office expenses and perhaps travelling etc. This grant need not be a big one.

4. In the present circumstances it appears that the only way to form such a committee is for it to be nominated by me as Minister in charge. In nominating it however we can choose, say, two or three members of the Legislature (I should like one of them to be a non-Muslim) and ask the Jamiat-ul-Ulema to suggest some names whom we could nominate. The total number of members might be seven or thereabout. The Education Minister should be consulted about the number of members and procedure to be adopted to select and nominate them. He should also be asked to suggest what grant should be made to this committee. A copy of this note might be sent to him.

5. In selecting members of this committee Begum Aizaz Rasul,² who is a member of the Standing Committee of the Legislature, should be included.

6. The appointment of a Consul at Hejaz should be taken in hand immediately by External Affairs.

2. Kudsia Aizaz Rasul (b. 1909); member, U.P. Legislative Council, 1937-52, re-elected in 1962 and 1968; member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-56; member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, since 1969; Minister in U.P., 1969-71; chairman, U.P. Minorities Commission, since 1979.

3. V. K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
14 April 1948

My dear Krishna,

I am very sorry for the delay in dealing with some of your letters. I have two letters from you dated the 29th March and earlier one dated the 15th March.

I shall here deal with only some of the matters touched upon by you.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

I agree with you that the calling back of Sundaram² was unfortunate. I have not been able to keep in touch with these developments but I am now writing to Maulana Azad to find out how matters stand.

I believe that D.M. Sen³ is not going to London but is likely to go to West Bengal Government. Whether Sundaram can go back to London or not, I cannot say, but certainly I would like him to go back and I am suggesting this to Maulana.

In this and other matters I am quite clear that changes should not be made without reference to our chief representative abroad. Unfortunately our method of working has been bad. In regard to external publicity we are trying to evolve another system and I hope that we shall arrive at some definite decision soon. Matters have been delayed because of Sardar Patel's illness.

About the High Commissioner's salary, I entirely understand and appreciate what you say; at the same time I think that it would not be advisable for you to live completely like a hermit. Surely you should have enough adaptability; and a different way of living now should not prevent you from reverting later on, if necessary, to a previous mode of living. As High Commissioner you can hardly live in a garret. I understand that the High Commissioner has got a house in Hampstead. Who uses this house now? I see no reason why you should not use it. If the house is too big for you, someone else of your establishment can share it with you.

It would not be proper for us at this stage to reduce the salary of the High Commissioner but it is open to you to draw any sum you like. I do not think anyone can take objection to that. We can inform the persons concerned of your decision. I would personally suggest that you should not draw less than one thousand pounds a year. It is also, of course, open to you to draw a larger sum and hand over part of it to some deserving object.

This whole business of salaries and allowances is all wrong and we shall have to put it right somehow later. I agree with you that the top salaries have to be brought down. At present there is a great deal of waste on allowances.

2. M.S. Sundaram (1903-1959); Professor of English, Annamalai University, 1935-38; joined the department of education at Delhi, 1944; Education Liaison Officer in Washington, 1947-48; Deputy Education Adviser, March-June 1948, and Secretary, Education, High Commission of India, London, 1948-50; Secretary, Education, Embassy of India, Washington, 1950-57; Secretary, Education, High Commission of India, London, from 1957 till death.
3. Dhirendra Mohan Sen (1901-1987); Private Secretary to Rabindranath Tagore, 1924-25; Principal and Rector, Santiniketan, 1930-39; joined Education Department, Government of India, 1940; Secretary, Education, Government of West Bengal, 1948-65; Vice-Chancellor, University of Burdwan, 1965-69; Chairman, High Power Committee, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, 1973-75.

I do not know what your present allotment for entertainment is. If you think it is inadequate, we shall certainly consider increasing it. We can also consider any suggestion of yours to pay what is actually expended after it is certified by you. You can talk to Bajpai about it.

About the car, you should certainly get a Daimler or some such car. It would not be fitting for India House to have just a small runabout.

About your very personal letter, I shall write to you separately. All I can say now is that I can quite understand the conflict which you have been facing for I have had to face something rather like it. It is terrible to think that we may be losing all our values and sinking into the sordidness of opportunist politics.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
15 April 1948

Dear Nan,

I have your letters of March 30th and April 5th. As usual they were very interesting.

The idea of having a conference in Delhi of representatives of Asian countries, of South East Asia and the Middle East, is attractive. But conditions are so difficult here at present and I feel so weary that I am reluctant to take the initiative. I shall think about it.

We shall gladly exchange diplomatic representatives with Lebanon and Syria. But we cannot send special representatives to these countries. We have already suggested that our Ambassador in Cairo might act as Minister for Syria and Lebanon. I suggest that Syria and Lebanon might approach us officially on this subject.

You have mentioned the article about India which Kharlamov² has written. I might inform you that this man delivered a very virulent speech at a private Communist Party meeting in Calcutta. It was he who was chiefly responsible

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mikhail Averkyevich Kharlamov (b. 1913); member, Central Committee, C.P.S.U., 1942-48; editor of various newspapers and journals, 1948-53; member, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1953-58; Chief of Press Department and member of Collegium, Foreign Ministry, 1961-62; Chairman of State Committee for Radio and T.V. of Council of Ministers, 1962-64; Deputy Chief Editor of *Politizdat*, 1966-68; Ministerial Counsellor to Embassy in the United States, 1970-78.

for kicking out P.C. Joshi from the C.P. Executive here.³ He criticised Joshi strongly for his appeasement of the Congress and of the present Government. In public Kharlamov behaved with propriety. But he showed his hand at this private meeting.

I have just learnt that a Russian plane might be going from here to Moscow soon. If so, I shall try to send you some odd things I have brought from Orissa. These include a model of the Puri Temple in silver filigree. I have ordered some curtains, bed-covers, etc., for you from Orissa. You know the kind of work they do there. It is very attractive.

Yours,
Jawahar

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, p. 350.

5. To Edward T. Clark¹

New Delhi
16 April 1948

Dear Mr. Clark,²

I was happy to meet you today and find out from you the progress that had been made by the World Movement for World Federal Government.³ As I told you, I have no doubt in my mind that the only way for the solution of the world's major problems is for some kind of a world government to develop. I have stated as much in public on many occasions. I welcome, therefore, every attempt that is made to educate and direct public opinion to this end and I wish you success in your endeavours.⁴

The actual working out of a scheme would naturally involve very careful consideration of all the aspects of the problem. Yet I think that the mechanical part of it is not so very difficult. The real difficulty is how to tackle the psychological and to some extent economic barriers that come in our way. The first step therefore should be to try to remove these psychological barriers and the movement you are working for will no doubt help in this process.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Treasurer and Vice President, World Movement for World Federal Government.

3. This movement had its origin in the first international federalist meeting held in Luxembourg in October 1946 and was formally constituted at the Montreux Convention held on 17-24 August 1947, which was attended by delegates and observers from twenty-three countries and fifty-two organisations.

4. Clark was in India to discuss with prominent leaders and leading political organisations and stimulate interest in the world federal movement and to establish parliamentary groups within national legislatures. The annual convention of the World Federation was held at Luxembourg in September 1948.

So far as India is concerned, we have repeatedly expressed our opinion in favour of the development of an international organisation or some kind of world government which gives full autonomy to its various national units and which at the same time removes the causes of war and national conflict. The Indian National Congress has expressed itself on these lines on several occasions and even during the course of the last World War. I have little doubt that Indian public opinion will support any such movement.

I have read the pledge which has been issued by the Workers for World Security,⁵ Ohio, copy of which you gave me. The purpose mentioned in this pledge⁶ has my entire agreement.

While I appreciate and welcome all efforts to promote international peace and goodwill and world government on the basis of freedom of nations and peoples, you will appreciate that, in view of my official position, I cannot associate myself formally with pledges and non-official organisations. When the time comes, I have little doubt that the Government and people of India will gladly take part in this great movement for world peace, freedom and welfare.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Workers for World Security, an organisation designed for the promotion of world peace, was operating from its headquarters in Cleveland. Senator Robert A. Taft was its president.
6. The pledge affirmed that world peace could be created and maintained only under world law, universal and strong enough to prevent armed conflict between nations.

6. To B.N. Rau¹

New Delhi
16th April 1948

My dear B.N.,

I am sending you the preliminary draft of a World Constitution about which I spoke to you on the telephone. This has been brought to me by Edward T. Clark, Vice President of the World Movement for World Federal Government. This draft is supposed to be confidential. Will you kindly glance through it and later let me have a note telling me what you think of it as a whole and whether any part of it is suitable for us to incorporate in our constitution?

1. J.N. Collection.

Clark is leaving Delhi for Bombay on Sunday morning at 10-00 a.m. Could you, therefore, please send this draft World Constitution to him by tomorrow Saturday night at the latest? He is staying at Maiden's Hotel.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Diplomatic Representatives in East Africa, West Indies, Mauritius and Fiji¹

The Prime Minister referred to the proposals to appoint Commissioners on behalf of India in East Africa, West Indies, Mauritius and Fiji.² In view of the rapid changes taking place in these colonies³ and the interests involved of the large numbers of Indians living there, it was desirable that the Commissioners should join as early as possible. The Prime Minister then proceeded to suggest a few names to fill the posts.

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 17 April 1948. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. Apa Pant was appointed Indian Commissioner to East Africa, Satya Charan Shastri to the West Indies, Dharam Yash Dev to Mauritius and Samuel Altaf Waiz to Fiji.
3. In East Africa it was proposed to give only one seat to the Indian settlers in the legislature instead of two as proposed earlier and various immigration ordinances prevented Indians from entering certain areas and participating in trades; in Mauritius the constitutional proposals weakened the democratic rights of the Indian majority in favour of the European minority; in Fiji the Indian settlers could not stay away from Fiji for two years and adequate facilities for new settlers were denied; and in the British West Indies there was a proposal for a federation which could affect the numerical strength of the Indian settlers.

8. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
21 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

One of your letters dated 6 May² has long remained unanswered. This relates to C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Patel suggested that, though Ramaswami Aiyar had bitterly opposed them, "we should be generous and forgiving" and "rise above the past" and, irrespective of party or personal consideration, utilise his "undoubted abilities and talents" by appointing him ambassador to the United States. He also suggested that Ramaswami Aiyar be given some semi-official or official status during his forthcoming visit to Australia.

I am naturally giving most careful thought to this matter and trying to get other people's reactions to it also. I feel quite clearly that C.P. would not be the right man for Washington or any of the important ambassadorial posts. This has nothing to do with his past except that that past has created a prejudice against him among large numbers of people in India and his appointment would be very unpopular. Our Government is not too popular in some ways and this would add to its unpopularity. It would be said that we are drifting away completely from our Congress standards.

But I have ignored this matter and purely on the merits I have come to the conclusion that C.P. would not suit at all in America. As a matter of fact, I have received advice from the U.S. that while his capability and intellect were greatly admired, he is looked upon as a man out of touch with developments and rather lopsided in his approach. If that was the reaction in America itself, you can well imagine reactions elsewhere. The world situation is an exceedingly delicate one, and everything that is said or done in Washington, London and Moscow on our behalf produces serious consequences. C.P. talks unrestrained about world politics and thus is likely to create difficulties.

The U.S.A. is, of course, most important and we must send a good man there. But the Americans are singularly immature in their politics and are getting deeply involved in trouble because of this immaturity. I think that we should take full advantage of our friendship with them but keep perfectly clear from any entanglements.

As C.P. is going to Australia as a guest of the Australian Government, I do not quite see what we can do to give him a special capacity. Of course, we shall inform the Australian Government about him and ask our representative³ there to help him in every way. The problems that arise in Australia today are closely related to the Japanese Peace Treaty⁴ and to India's relations with the Commonwealth.⁵ Both these are delicate problems and I do not know what views C.P. may have in regard to them. Probably it would be better for him and for us that he has free play to say what he chooses rather than we should try to limit him by briefs and directives. He is not a man to be limited in this way.

3. Lt. Col. Dayasingh Bedi.

4. Australia feared that Japan once restored to military power would prove again a menace to Australian security.

5. Australia felt that there could be no unity of outlook with the entry of India into the Commonwealth. India considered that Australia's immigration policy attached stigma to the coloured people. Australia's unwillingness to hurt Dutch susceptibilities for the sake of Indonesian freedom was opposed by India.

I agree with you that it is improper for the Travancore people and Ministry to go out of their way to show discourtesy to C.P. I expect to see Thanu Pillai and I shall speak to him about it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

9. Economic Freedom for Asia¹

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission,

On behalf of the Government of India I welcome you to this country and to this place. India has long been associated with the United Nations because India has believed in the aims and purposes of the United Nations, and even though sometimes no tangible results have followed in the United Nations, nevertheless we have believed that we must and the world must follow that course in the hope that tangible results will come sooner or later. We have functioned in your various commissions because we have felt that quite apart from the political aspect of the United Nations, the economic aspect is at least as important if not more important. Indeed, perhaps, you cannot consider one without the other. Politically so far we have not met with great success, but I hope that if we meet with success in the economic field that will affect the political field also.

There has been talk in the past of One World in the political sense and I feel it is even more important to consider it in the economic sense. And you meet here to deal with Asia and Asia's problems but you will get there only in the context of the larger world because we cannot escape looking at almost any problem in the global context today. Well, Asia is big enough and the subjects you have to deal with are of vast and tremendous importance.

The Governor of Madras² referred to the numerous papers and memoranda that you have before you, and I feel rather overwhelmed when I look at all those piles of papers and when I see experts in this field because I can only speak as a layman. But while experts are quite inescapable in the modern world, sometimes I have a feeling that they become very impersonal and look at problems as if they were mathematical and algebraic formulae. Well,

1. Inaugural address at the third session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Udagamandalam, 1 June 1948. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Sir Archibald Nye.

we have to deal with human beings and the future of human beings. In the area that is under your survey in Asia, I suppose there are at least a thousand million human beings. In India, including Pakistan, there live forty per cent of those thousand millions, that is four hundred millions. We have to deal with these vast numbers—practically half the world's population—and if you look at the human aspect of it, i.e. a hundred million human beings, with their families, their sufferings, and wants, and their joys and sorrows, the problem becomes something much more than a dry economic problem which you solve on paper and it assumes a tremendous urgency.

Now, in the past many years, most of these problems have been considered in the world context and I have had a feeling, and I still have that feeling, that the continent of Asia is somewhat neglected, somewhat overlooked; it was not considered important enough for as much attention to be given to it as is given to certain other parts of the world. Possibly that was so, because most of the people who were considering these problems were themselves intimately connected with other parts of the world, and, naturally, they thought of them in the first instance. Naturally also, if I have to consider these problems, I would perhaps attach more importance to Asia, because it affects me more intimately. But that kind of reaction apart, it seems to me obvious that you cannot consider the problems of Asia, America or Africa in isolation from one another. It just cannot be done. And if some countries, which are fortunate enough today, more fortunate than others, think that they can live their life apart, whatever happens in the rest of the world, it is obvious that they are under a misapprehension. Today, if one part of the world goes down economically or otherwise, it has a tendency to drag others with it; just as, if unfortunately, war breaks out other people who do not want war become involved. So it is not a question of the prosperous merely out of the generosity of their hearts helping those that are not prosperous, though to be generous is a good thing. But it is a question of an enlightened self-interest, realising that if some parts of the world do not progress and remain backward, they have an adverse effect on the whole economy of the world, and tend to drag down those parts that are at present prosperous. Therefore, it becomes inevitable to consider these problems in the global way and to pay even more attention to those parts which are relatively backward.

Now Asia has been for many generations past in a somewhat static and backward condition from this point of view. But during the last few years, mighty forces have been at work in Asia. Those forces inevitably thought in terms of political change to begin with, because without political change it was not possible to have any far-reaching or enduring economic change. Large parts of Asia were colonial territory dominated over by other countries. While in that connection they have got some advantage sometimes, as it did undoubtedly, in a sense, shake up that static condition, at the same

time it tended to preserve it too. Well, that political struggle of Asia is largely over, not entirely; there are parts of Asia still where some kind of a struggle for political freedom is going on, and it is obvious that so long as there is that type of struggle on the political plane, other activities will be ignored or will be thwarted. The sooner therefore it is realised that politically every country in Asia should be completely free and be in a position to follow its own genius within the larger world policy that any world organisation may lay down, the better it will be. If one thing is certain it is this that there will be no peace in any part of Asia if there is a tendency for another country to dominate over an Asian country by force. I regret that some such attempts continue to be made in parts of Asia. They seem to me not only undesirable in themselves but singularly lacking in foresight because there can be but one end to these attempts and that is the complete elimination of any kind of foreign control.

Now, generally speaking, this political aspect of the Asian struggle is drawing to its natural and inevitable culmination. But at the same time the economic aspect continues and is bound up with all manner of economic problems affecting the world. From the Asian point of view, it has become essentially a matter of extreme urgency to deal with these problems. From the world point of view it is equally urgent really, because unless these problems are dealt with in Asia, they will affect other parts of the world. I trust that you, ladies and gentlemen, who are members of this Commission, no doubt realise the importance of what I have said, and will make it clear to the United Nations that any attempt not to pay sufficient attention to Asian problems is likely to defeat the end which the United Nations have in view.

In Asia many historical forces have been at work during the last many years and many things have happened which are good and there are many things which are not so good as always happens when impersonal historic forces are in action. They are still in action. We try to mould them a little, to divert them here and there, but essentially they will carry on till they fulfil their purpose and their historical destiny. That historical destiny can only be one with complete political and economic freedom within certainly some kind of world framework. In Asia and the rest of the world there are various systems at work, political and economic, in different countries. Obviously, it will not be possible to cooperate easily unless we proceed on the basis of not interfering with any system, political or economic, in any country, leaving it to that country to develop, as it chooses, within the larger sphere of world cooperation.

Now you can look upon the problems of Asia from the long-term and the short-term points of view. The short-term problems demand immediate attention because of the urgency of solving some great difficulties. There is the question of food shortages. It is an extraordinary situation that in a country like India or in other similarly predominantly agricultural countries,

we should have shortage of foodgrains or that we should not have a sufficiency of them. There is something obviously wrong if that kind of thing happens.

I have no doubt in my mind that India can and will produce enough food for itself not immediately but in the course of a few years. But at the present moment we have to face this problem. Other similar urgent problems will also come up for deliberation before you. Looking at these problems from a long-term point of view, it seems to me that various deficiencies have to be made good. We have to increase our productive capacity, both agricultural and industrial. It is admitted now that industrialisation must proceed in the countries of Asia. In the past, this has rather been held up by various peoples and various interests.

The real limiting factor in industrialisation is the lack of capital equipment. There are difficulties in getting capital equipment and expertise from those countries which happen to possess them and who have a surplus of them. How far that can be obtained, it is for you to calculate and the producing countries to decide. If it is not obtained quickly, the process of industrialisation may be somewhat delayed but it will go on.

Now if it is considered right in the larger interest of the world that a country like India and other countries in the East should get industrialised, should increase agricultural production through adoption of modern methods, it is in the interests of those countries that can help in this process to help the Asian countries with capital equipment and their special experience. But in doing so it is to be borne in mind that no Asian country will welcome any such assistance if there are conditions attached to it which lead to any kind of economic domination. We would rather delay our development, industrial or otherwise, than submit to any kind of economic domination of any country.

That is an axiom which is accepted by everyone in India and I shall be surprised if any other country in Asia did not accept it. We want to co-operate in the fullest measure in any policy or programme laid down for the world's good even though it might involve the surrender, in common with other countries, of any particular attribute of sovereignty, provided that is a common surrender all round. But a long period of foreign domination has made the countries of Asia very sensitive about anything which might lead to some visible or invisible form of domination. Therefore, I would beg of you to remember this and to so fashion your programmes and policies as to avoid anything savouring of economic domination of one country by another. Political domination, it is admitted, leads to economic domination, but an invisible or semi-invisible economic domination creeps in unless you are careful; if that creeps in, that will lead immediately to ill will and there will be no atmosphere of cooperation which is so essential in this matter.

Taking a long-term view, if I may speak of India, I suppose the most important thing is to develop our power resources. From that will flow the industrialisation of the country, and there will be increase in our food production. As it is, you know that India has probably more in the shape of irrigation³ than any other country in the world. We hope to increase that very greatly. We have in view at least a score of various river valley schemes—some very big, some bigger than the Tennessee Valley Scheme, some smaller and some very small. We hope to push the schemes soon, constructing huge dams and reservoirs, and thereby adding to the irrigated parts of India large tracts which are not at present under cultivation.

May I say a word here about the population of India? A great deal has been said and written about our tremendous population and how it overwhelms us and how we cannot solve any problem till this Indian population is checked or decimated. Well, I have no desire for the population of India to go on increasing. I am all in favour of the population being checked, but I think there is a great misapprehension when so much stress is laid on this aspect. I entirely disagree with that. I think India is an underpopulated country and I say this not because I want it to be much more populated. It is underpopulated because large tracts of India are still unpopulated. It is true that if you go to the Gangetic plain it is thickly populated, parts of India are thickly populated, but many parts are not populated at all.

A delegate to this conference told me last evening that coming from Karachi to Delhi, and then to Ootacamund via Madras, he was struck to see how sparsely populated certain areas looked. Of course he was travelling by plane; nevertheless the whole countryside was visible to him and, after all, one can judge whether the country is heavily populated or not. That is a very correct impression that he got because large tracts are not populated.

We are overpopulated, if you like, because our productive capacity is low. If we increase our production, agricultural and other, if this population is put to work for production, then we are not overpopulated. We have these big river valley schemes which, in addition to irrigating land, preventing floods, soil erosion and malaria, will produce a very great deal of hydro-electric power, and at the same time we will have industrial development. If you look at the map of India, which I hope you will look at, you will see the noble range of the Himalayas from the north to the northeast. I do not think there is any part of the world similar in area which has so much concentrated power and such latent power potential, if only it is tapped and used. Well, we intend tapping and using it, to some extent we have done it, we intend speeding up the process. The Himalayas are also

3. According to official estimates, out of about 249 million acres of cultivated area, 49 million acres were being irrigated perennially from one source or another in 1948.

full of a variety of minerals, as they are to be found in many other parts of India too.

But my point is that not only India—and I mentioned India because I happen to know a little more about India—but the whole of this Asian region is full of vast resources, human and material. The question before us is how to yoke them together to achieve the desired results. It is not that we are lacking in men or material; we have got both. In order to yoke them together for the moment the easiest way is, of course, to have certain assistance in capital equipment and experienced technical personnel from those countries which may have a surplus of them. From the world point of view that will inevitably lead to the world's good. If that cannot be done wholly then naturally we have to function in a more limited way, but we shall have to go in that direction anyhow.

Apart from increasing production in this way, I mean new schemes and the rest, I think it is important for us to utilise our existing resources better. I do not think they are being utilised to the best advantage. We can get more out of what we have got than we have been doing. That involves, in India as in the rest of Asia, many problems concerning the economic system, the relation of capital and labour and the satisfaction of labour. There is no doubt at all that in most of these Asian countries there are long-standing social injustices, and naturally where there are these social injustices, you will not get satisfactory work, specially now when there is an acute sense of social wrong and social injustice. In India, I have no doubt that our production has suffered because of this acute feeling of social injustice. No doubt, an individual or a community may, in spite of this barrier, undertake and shoulder almost any burden. We have seen during the last War how nations have put up with the most enormous burdens in the shape of sacrifices, etc., but always they had a sense of sharing the burden. When there is a sense of injustice and the burden is greater on some than on others—it is greater on the underprivileged than the privileged—then these fissures become greater and you cannot, you do not, have that harmonious working and cooperation which is quite essential today, more so than in the past. Therefore, this problem has to be viewed from that point of view, from the human point of view, quite apart from pure economic theories.

If one does view it from the human point of view, and if one tries to co-operate in solving it without entering into long arguments about pure economic theory, I think one can go far towards solving it and in getting that measure of cooperation even among people who may hold different theories. So I would beg this Commission to consider this problem, the question of removing social injustices, from the human point of view. The Commission is of course not going to dictate each individual country about its economic structure, but any advice from the Commission will no doubt go a long

way and most countries would probably follow it in the largest measure they can.

Now, secondly, to repeat what I have said, I hope this Commission will bear in mind the fact that we are dealing with a hundred million human beings, and not abstract countries or abstract groups. Each individual is a member of a family, with children who possibly starve, who possibly have no education and no opportunity of growth and advancement.

I mentioned right in the beginning about certain parts of Asia which have not completely solved their political problems. Some in the past year have undergone a tremendous change politically—a part of India has become Pakistan, Burma has become independent, and so on and so forth.

May I specially welcome the representatives of Burma and New Zealand in this Commission? I should have liked to see representatives here of Indonesia.⁴ I am not going to enter into legal or constitutional aspects of such matters but it seems to me necessary from the practical point of view that an area like the Indonesian Republic, which is one of the richest areas in Asia, cannot be ignored in any plan that you might draw up about Asia. Now if that area is not directly and sufficiently represented here, then your plan is inadequate, it does not meet the necessities of the situation. You cannot leave out an important, a highly important, part of Asia and then make a plan for the rest of it. So I regret that a direct representative of the Indonesian Republic has thus far not found a place here. I hope it may be possible for them to be invited and to take part in the Commission's deliberations in some form or other.

India, as I said, from the population point of view, forms forty per cent of the Asian region which you have in view. From the geographical point of view too it is rather important, situated where it is, and so it is from some other points of view also. India proposes to take the fullest part in this cooperative effort, both for Asia and for the world.

People vaguely talk of India's leadership in Asia. I deprecate such talk. I want this problem to be approached not in terms of this country or that country being the leader and pushing or pulling others, but rather in a spirit of cooperation between all the countries of Asia, big or small. If any country pulls more than its weight, well and good, if it can serve the common cause more than its share necessitated, well, I have no doubt that it will be patted on the back and it will be a good thing, but this business of any country thinking of itself as a leader of others smacks too much of superiority complex which is not desirable in organisations working together for the common good. Let us drop this method of referring to this matter and talk only in terms of cooperation between countries, whoever they may be. It is in that spirit that I should like India to approach these problems as would other

4. Indonesia was represented by a delegate from the Netherlands.

countries, but, at the same time, I should certainly like India to play a leading part in serving the common cause, whatever the results of that may be to India.

You have come here and the Commission is meeting here for the first time. I believe one of the points that you have to determine is the location of your temporary headquarters. Probably soon after, there will be the question of locating the regional headquarters. It is for you to determine, not for me to say much, but on behalf of the Government of India I should like to invite you to have your headquarters here. If you so decide, you will be very welcome and we shall do our utmost to meet your requirements here. We would like the regional headquarters to be here. The exact location in India can be decided afterwards, to suit your convenience and the convenience of the Government of India. Anyhow, I wish to put this invitation before you informally, and we shall of course accept whatever decision you may take and cooperate with you wherever your headquarters may be. I should like now to express my welcome to you again and to wish you success in your high endeavour.

10. To Achyut Patwardhan¹

New Delhi
6 June 1948

My dear Achyut,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th May. I was looking forward to meeting you at Ooty and was sorry to miss you there. Are you likely to come to Delhi fairly soon?

I wish I could have time to sit down somewhere quietly and sort out the many things which oppress the mind but I find myself in a harder prison than I have ever been.

I wanted to ask you specially whether you would be agreeable to accepting a diplomatic post abroad, probably in Europe. Personally I should think it good from every point of view if you would accept this post, say for a year to begin with, as this in itself gives an opportunity to look round the world and think quietly about our own particular problems. We have all got too much engrossed in these problems and perhaps I have lost perspective.

If the idea appeals to you, I hope you will come here so that we can have a talk.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

11. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Krishna,

I am writing to you about Indo-Soviet relations. There has been a progressive deterioration in them and I think the time has come for us to clear this matter insofar as it is possible of being cleared with the Soviet Government. We have, therefore, asked our Ambassador in Moscow² to have a frank talk with the Soviet Foreign Office. Bajpai, at my instance, had a talk with Novikov, the Russian Ambassador, here yesterday. A note of these conversations will be sent to you separately.

I can understand a certain feeling of irritation in Russia in regard to the attitude taken up at the United Nations General Assembly last year.³ I was not myself very happy about some things that our delegation did but we were so absorbed then with our troubles here that we could not follow events carefully. But whatever our delegation did was not done because of any pressure from any other country or bloc. Our people are not wholly conversant with European or other developments and they may occasionally make mistakes.

In regard to Korea there has been Russian resentment also about our attitude.⁴ As a matter of fact what we have been doing lately has been definitely not liked by the Americans. It may not be wholly to the liking of the Russians but it is inclined towards their viewpoint more than previously. We did so not because of Russia or America but because we thought in the circumstances that was the right thing to do.

The Russian attitude towards India has become progressively one of condemning and running down the Government of India and all its works. Articles in some Russian periodicals contain bitter criticisms and we are continually being referred to as some kind of a stooge of the Anglo-American bloc.⁵

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

3. India's attitude on the veto question, her stand on Korea, and the decision to contest the Security Council seat in 1947 against Soviet Ukraine were not liked by the Soviet Union.

4. India had supported the setting up of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea and later approved elections only in South Korea under U.N. supervision.

5. The Soviet press criticised the Congress as a party of reaction and denounced Nehru as a "hireling of Anglo-American imperialism".

Further the Communist Party of India, which presumably will never go against the main trends of Russian foreign policy, has been adopting not only a hostile attitude but practically a rebellious attitude.⁶ We have information that this general attitude and change of policy was adopted at the instance of some delegates from Russia some months ago.⁷ That change of policy affected not only India but Burma, Malaya, etc. Exactly what the object of that policy is, is not clear except that it creates enormous difficulties and might, as in Burma, weaken the whole structure of Government. It does not seem to lead to any constructive results unless weakening and disruption itself is the objective aimed at. Obviously Communists in India are small in numbers and not strong enough to do anything constructively. This policy results in antagonising large numbers of people in India and isolating the Communists. As most people connect this policy with official Russian Government policy a part of this antagonism is transferred to the U.S.S.R.

Our Ambassador in Moscow has written to us repeatedly that she finds that she can do nothing very useful there. Apart from very limited official contacts she has no adequate contacts even with the Russian Government and none at all are permitted with the Russian people. All foreign embassies in Moscow, probably with the exception of the Slav embassies, are completely isolated and live in a world of their own. Even Russian teachers of the language were withdrawn from our embassy, so also some servants. This was not directed against the Indian embassy specially but applied to all the embassies.

Our Ambassador has not been permitted to visit various parts of the U.S.S.R., notably in Asia, where she wanted to go. In contrast with this the Jambhekars,⁸ whom you know, were feted in Moscow, they had a long interview with Stalin,⁹ they were given special planes to go all over the U.S.S.R. We might almost say that a deliberate discourtesy was intended for our Ambassador, or at any rate it was made clear how different was their approach to a Communist from India as compared to an official representative. The result of this is a certain feeling of frustration in our Embassy in Moscow. My sister wrote to me that she had the sensation of a moral defeat that she could not get on or do anything worthwhile. She disliked intensely the atmosphere of the foreign diplomatic colony and she really was isolated from social contacts.

6. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India declared in March 1948 that Nehru's neutrality was only "a mask to cover collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists".

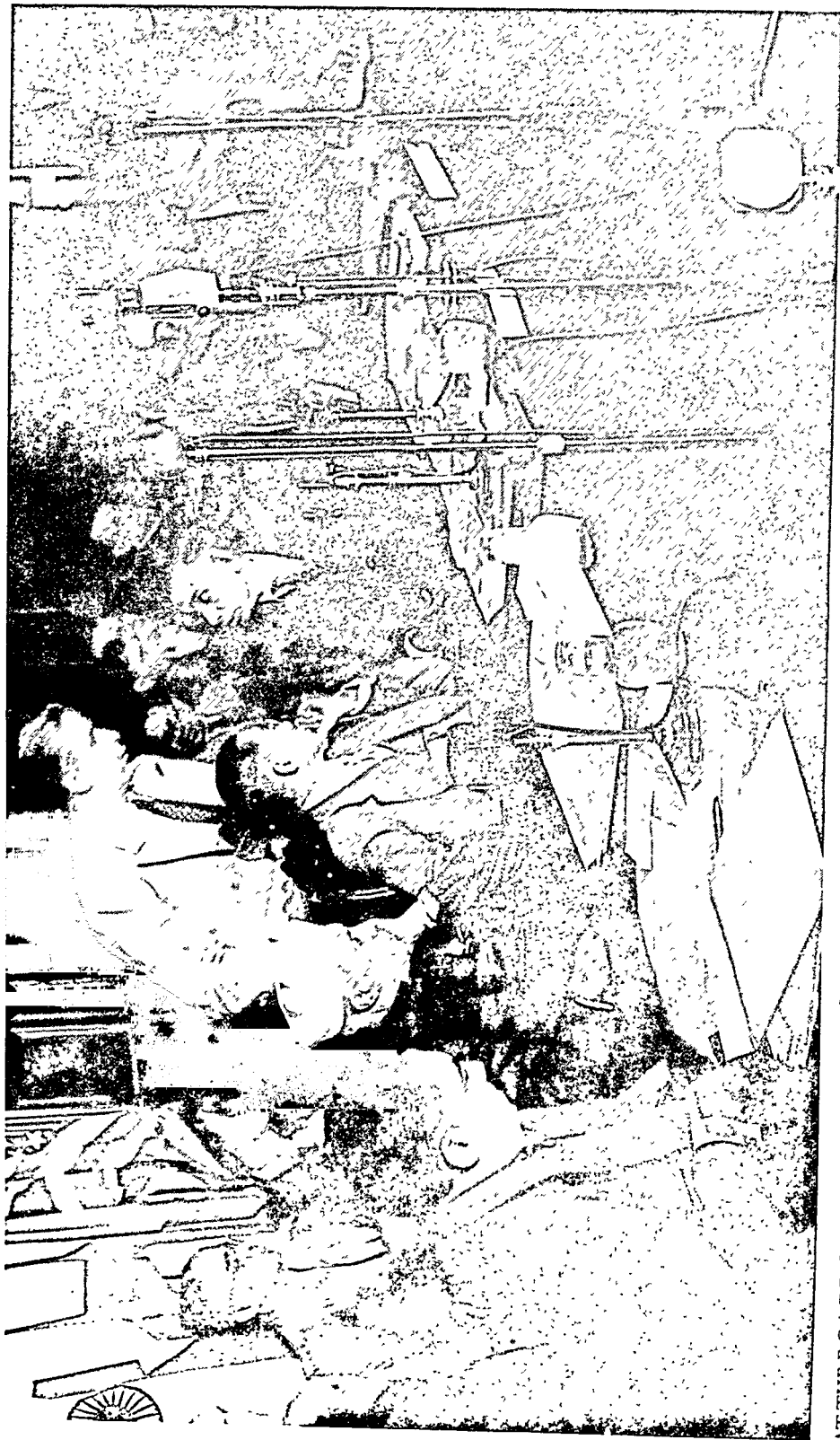
7. At the Second Congress of the C.P.I. in February 1948, the Party adopted a programme presented by Ranadive of revolutionary war. Details of the strategy were explained to the Congress by two delegates from Yugoslavia, Vladimir Dedijer and Radoven Zokovic.

8. R.M. Jambhekar and his wife Suhasini.

9. Jambhekar denied having met Stalin during his visit in April-May 1948.



T MUSSOORIE, 25 MAY 1948



AT THE E.C.A.F.E. CONFERENCE, UDAGAMANDALAM, 1 JUNE 1948

I think we should have a clearing up of all this. Naturally we may not see eye to eye with the Soviet in many matters but there is no doubt that there has been a great fund of friendship with the Soviet in India. That fund is gradually disappearing chiefly because of the attitude of the Soviet towards us.

Novikov, the Russian Ambassador here, is going soon to Moscow on leave. We thought it was desirable for him to be acquainted with our viewpoint on this issue before he went so that he could convey it to his Government. We want friendship and cooperation with Russia in many fields but we are a sensitive people and we react strongly to being cursed at and run down.

The whole basis of Russian policy appears to be that no essential change has taken place in India and that we still continue to be camp-followers of the British. That of course is complete nonsense and if a policy is based on nonsensical premises it is apt to go wrong. Obviously we are influenced by certain circumstances and we cannot always ignore these circumstances. Our general reaction, whenever any pressure is sought to be applied upon us by any country, is to resent it and may be to go against it.

At the present moment the U.S.A. Government is not too pleased with us for various reasons and indeed the American Ambassador here told us the other day how much he regretted that nothing substantial had been done in improving Indo-American relations during his regime. Our newspapers are often very irresponsible. They are drunk with the new freedom and seldom understand the intricacies of foreign affairs and policy. They criticise American and Russian policy alike, sometimes rather vigorously.

I thought I should let you know all developments here so that you may keep in line with them. I hope that our frank talks in Delhi and Moscow will remove some misconceptions and pave the way for better understanding of each other.

I telegraphed to you yesterday that there was no chance of my going to England in July. At the earliest I might visit Europe about the middle of September or may be a little later. I want to go there because I want to get out for a while from India and view things in perspective. But I really cannot be sure of what I shall do. Here in India some kind of crisis exists continuously. Unfortunately I have to play an important role in all these developments and my absence may lead to grave difficulties. There is Hyderabad of course and Kashmir but there is also the growing deterioration of the economic situation here. All manner of other problems also arise which though local have an effect on our Government. Hence it is very difficult to say for certain whether I shall be able to go abroad or not. I promised the Mountbattens that I will try my utmost to go out but, apart from that promise, I do feel that I should go for my own sake if for nobody else's.

Our Constituent Assembly, that is the constitution-making body, has

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

been unfortunately postponed and will now meet by about the middle of October. That is rather a nuisance and might come in the way of my visit to Europe or at any rate might limit it.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

FOREIGN POLICY

II. India and the Commonwealth

1. To V. K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
16th April, 1948

My dear Krishna,

Some three weeks ago I received a letter from Attlee.² I enclose a copy of it. I have not answered this yet but I propose to do so in the course of the next two or three days. I shall send you a copy of my answer.³

Whatever the merits of the question might be, I fear it is hardly possible for us to continue as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth. This would be fiercely opposed by various elements in India and might become a major issue tending to split up our ranks. As it is we are in bad odour in many ways.

I do not propose to write definitely to Attlee but in any event this matter has to be decided one way or the other in the course of the next two or three months by the Constituent Assembly. The subject may come up before the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay soon.⁴

Mountbatten has been naturally anxious to retain India in the Dominion. He has tried to convince me repeatedly that the word 'Republic' should not be used by us in our Constitution; we should have Commonwealth or State. Having fixed up 'Republic' for the last year and a half any attempt to change it now will be viewed with grave suspicion.⁵ As a matter of fact, I think that if we use the word 'Republic' it may be possible to have a closer relationship with the U.K. than otherwise.

I wanted to write to you on this subject some time ago and to have your present reactions but I forgot to do so. Any way write to me about it.

Whether we call it a Republic or a Commonwealth, the whole structure of our Constitution is republican. There is a President, etc. There is no chance at all for us to go back on this and I do not think we should.

We have practically decided to have Rajaji as the successor to Mountbatten. He has agreed with some difficulty and chiefly because I pressed him to do so.⁶

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See fn. 2 of the next item.

3. See the next item.

4. The All India Congress Committee, which met on 24-26 April 1948, did not have any discussion on this subject.

5. The original Objectives Resolution adopted in January 1947 stated that India should be "Independent Sovereign Republic". On 21 February 1948, when the Draft Constitution was published, Ambedkar had changed it to "Sovereign Democratic Republic".

6. See *ante*, p. 355.

The latest news from Lake Success is not encouraging.⁷ I just do not understand how Noel-Baker and company can behave in the way they are doing after all the assurances of Attlee and Stafford Cripps. It is impossible to reconcile the two positions. That applies to U.S.A.'s behaviour too there after their Ambassador's assurance to us here.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. See *ante*, p. 155.

2. To C. R. Attlee¹

New Delhi
18 April 1948

My dear Attlee,

I must apologise to you for the delay in acknowledging your personal letter of the 11th March which was sent on to me by the office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in New Delhi.² Before answering it I wanted to give it full consideration. As a matter of fact it is not easy for me to answer adequately at this stage. The question you have raised is important and vital for the future of India and will have to be decided ultimately by the Constituent Assembly.

2. I am, therefore, not attempting an answer at this stage. You will appreciate that strong views are held by various groups and individuals on this subject. For my part I have deliberately tried to delay any decision so that we might be able to consider the question as dispassionately as possible and without the heavy legacy of the past.

3. I agree with you in much that you say and I can assure you that it is my desire and the desire of many of my colleagues that the association of India with the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth of Nations should be close and intimate. I am more interested in real friendship and

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Attlee asked Nehru if there were any real objections to India continuing in the Commonwealth, owing "loyalty to the Crown". He appreciated the objections India and other newly independent countries would have towards this concept, but felt all other associations were possible under this link.

cooperation between these countries than merely in a formal link which does not carry with it that friendly cooperation. The problem before us, therefore, is this close psychological as well as other relationships. I am myself not clear in my own mind what the best way would be to ensure this. I have been hoping that the course of events would help in clearing the atmosphere to enable us to decide the question dispassionately and objectively.

4. If anyone had asked this question of us about a year ago, I have little doubt what the answer would have been, and this answer would have been almost unanimous. The mere fact that another opinion is held now by many persons indicates the change that has come over the situation. This change has undoubtedly been due to the change in British policy in regard to India and more particularly to the presence and activities of our present Governor-General. Indeed it is remarkable what Lord Mountbatten, and may I add Lady Mountbatten also, have done to remove many of the old causes of distrust and bitterness between India and England. I have often wondered what the history of India would have been if they had come a year earlier. I imagine it would have been very different and that we might well have avoided many of the perils and disasters that we have had to face. It is with exceeding regret that we shall part with Lord and Lady Mountbatten when they go away in June next.

5. You are aware that the Constituent Assembly of India has been drafting a constitution and has now reached a stage when the final draft will be considered. Right at the beginning of its existence the Constituent Assembly laid down certain objectives. It stated that the constitution was going to be for an Independent Sovereign Republic. Whether we use those exact words or not will be decided later; but in any event the constitution as drafted had to follow this direction. Even then, however, we made it clear that the question of India's relation with the United Kingdom and the British Commonwealth will be considered separately. We were anxious not to come to any hurried decision and we hoped that the lapse of time would make it easier to decide. That decision was bound to be influenced by the events which preceded it.

6. You refer to the power of words, and I entirely agree with you that words have an inherent force and power of their own. Behind the words, of course, lies a complex of thoughts and memories, both conscious and sub-conscious, which exert a powerful influence on the minds of a people.

7. I might mention that our formal constitution will probably be finally drafted in the Hindi language, though of course there will be an official

English translation of it. The words used in Hindi will not have the same historical background associations which English words might have, although outwardly they may mean much the same.

8. I shall not say much more at this stage except to repeat the hope that India and England will be closely associated to their mutual advantage. In a world full of conflict and difficulty this is even more necessary than it might have been at any other time.

9. I am very grateful to you for your invitation to me to visit England. Even without that invitation I have wanted to come to England, and your invitation has strengthened that wish. But the fates have been hard on us and it has been very difficult for me even to leave Delhi for any length of time. The recent illness of my colleague, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, has added to the difficulty of my leaving India. But I still hope to visit England perhaps sometime in the late summer or early autumn.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Mohammad Yunus¹

New Delhi
18 April 1948

My dear Yunus,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th March as well as the previous letter and for the photographs you had sent. Raghavan and you, and may I add your respective wives, have been doing excellent work in Indonesia, and we are fully satisfied with it. I should not like you to come back for some time. But I am rather worried about your health.² Probably from the climatic point of view Java is not bad. But whether you get adequate treatment there or not, I do not know. You should certainly go to Singapore for examination and treatment if you think it necessary.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mohammad Yunus was suffering from anaemia and was advised to go to Singapore for treatment.

Please tell President Soekarno that I would love to go to Indonesia for a variety of reasons.³

Reason No. 1, that I want to meet him and discuss many matters with him.

Reason No. 2, that I am quite sure that India and Indonesia have to pull together in the future and we should therefore begin clearing the ground and discussing what steps we should take in this matter. Indeed I think the time is rapidly approaching when we must think in terms of some kind of closer Asian union or collaboration of the Asian countries.⁴ Some time back Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma,⁵ met me and told me that he was keen on such a union. I have recently had some approach in this from Lebanon and Syria suggesting some kind of a conference in India to consider any kind of joint policy of Asian countries in view of the rapidly developing international crisis. The idea is attractive, but I rather feel that it is slightly premature and we have to explore the matter separately before we do it jointly.

Reason No. 3, I am greatly tired and stale and I am perfectly sure that a visit to Indonesia would revive me physically and mentally.

All these are powerful reasons, and yet I just do not see how I can leave India at all for some time to come. I have had pressing invitations from Mr. Attlee to visit England and from President Truman to visit the United States. If I go there I should also visit Russia and some other countries of Europe. There is no chance of my going anywhere outside India for at least four months, I imagine. Situation here is a difficult and complicated one and even a brief absence makes a difference. Sardar Patel's illness has naturally added to my burdens.

You should certainly write to me about any suggestions that you have in mind.⁶

I was very sorry to learn of the death of Laj's father.⁷ This must have been a shock to her.

3. Soekarno had told Yunus on 28 March that he intended to request Nehru to visit Indonesia.
4. Yunus had informed Nehru that Soekarno had on several occasions spoken of him (Nehru) as "the real leader of Asia" and added "if we follow him there is nothing to fear."
5. The Prime Minister of Burma during his visit to India in December 1947 said: "... I sincerely hope that with so much goodwill on both sides a satisfactory agreement will soon be reached in the interests of that cooperation in larger affairs which the world expects from two great neighbours like India and Burma for the peace and progressing welfare of mankind."
6. Yunus had written in his letter of 29 March that he had a few suggestions which would have a far-reaching effect in Indonesia, if they were conceded to by the Government of India.
7. K.L. Rallia Ram (1881-1948); Headmaster, Rang Mahal High School, Lahore, for 36 years; representative of Christians in Punjab Legislative Assembly for some years.

I imagine that there will be no difficulty for Dr. Jalaluddin,⁸ King Farouk's⁹ envoy, to visit India. But I shall let you know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Jalaluddin, head of the Egyptian Red Cross, had expressed a desire to stay in India for a few weeks to see the working of medical institutions.
9. (1920-1965); King of Egypt from 1936 until 1952 when he was forced to abdicate.

4. Proposal for Titles for the Mountbattens¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru presents his humble duty to His Majesty² and invites attention to the relinquishment by His Excellency Earl Mountbatten of Burma of the office of Governor General of India with effect from June 1948. As India's last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten made an outstanding contribution to the early and peaceful realisation of Indian independence; as her first Governor General, his advice and aid to his Ministers have been equally notable for their wisdom, sympathy and understanding.

In her own sphere, the Countess Mountbatten has been equally active and the men, women and children of India, especially those whom partition uprooted from their established homes under the most cruel circumstances, owe her a great debt of gratitude.

For the services, perhaps unique in the history of Indo-British association, rendered by Lord and Lady Mountbatten to the Government and people of India and to the cause of friendship between India and the United Kingdom, it is earnestly suggested that His Majesty be graciously pleased to confer upon the retiring Governor General and his Lady some mark of recognition commensurate with those services.

1. New Delhi, 21 May 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. George VI (1895-1952).

5. Message to C. R. Attlee¹

I thank you for your personal message² conveyed to me through the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom. As you know, I have long been anxious to visit England and to meet you but a succession of events in India has prevented me from doing so. Even now it is not easy for me to think of leaving India, but in view of the importance you attach to an early meeting of Prime Ministers, I am prepared to try my utmost to visit England for informal discussions as indicated by you.

I fear, however, that the time suggested by you, namely, the second half of June, would be most unsuitable. As you know, the present Governor General will be leaving Delhi on the 21st June and the new Governor General will take charge. It is essential that I should be here at this time and for at least a fortnight afterwards. I would prefer a date sometime in the second half of July but, to suit your convenience, I could make it the second week of July. I fear I cannot advance it any further.

I take it that the visit will be brief and business like so that I might be able to come back early.

1. Undated; written soon after 25 May 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Through this message of 25 May 1948, Attlee advocated the need for an early meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for an exchange of views on Germany, peace conference on Japan, implications of the Western Union and discussed mutual economic problems.

6. To Henry Charles Usborne¹

New Delhi
10th June, 1948

Dear Mr. Usborne,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th April.

I appreciate what you say but I have a feeling that we should not say much more than we can do at present, especially in India. If I had not been connected with the Government here, I would have been quite free to express my own personal opinion but connection with the Government limits one to some extent.

1. J.N. Collection.

As you know we are passing through a difficult period. The country was partitioned last year with very serious consequences. Gradually we are settling down. We are also in the process of evolving a new constitution and there will be elections on the basis of this new constitution in about a year's time or more. In these circumstances we can hardly address the world and sponsor the idea of Peoples' World Constituent Assembly. Such a proposal would sound rather artificial with no reality behind it but a time may well come when such a proposal has to be made not by one country but by a number.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Eamon De Valera¹

New Delhi
18 June, 1948

My dear Mr. De Valera,

It was a great pleasure to meet you during your very short visit to Delhi and India. There were so many people here who were anxious to meet you. But it was difficult to find time for it and many of them are rather annoyed with me because of this. For a long time past, several generations in India have followed closely and with deep sympathy events in Ireland. We have drawn inspiration from many of the happenings there and you have been admired by vast numbers of our people. For them it was an event that you visited India and their only regret is that they could not take advantage of your visit.

I enclose some photographs that were taken at the time of your visit to Delhi.

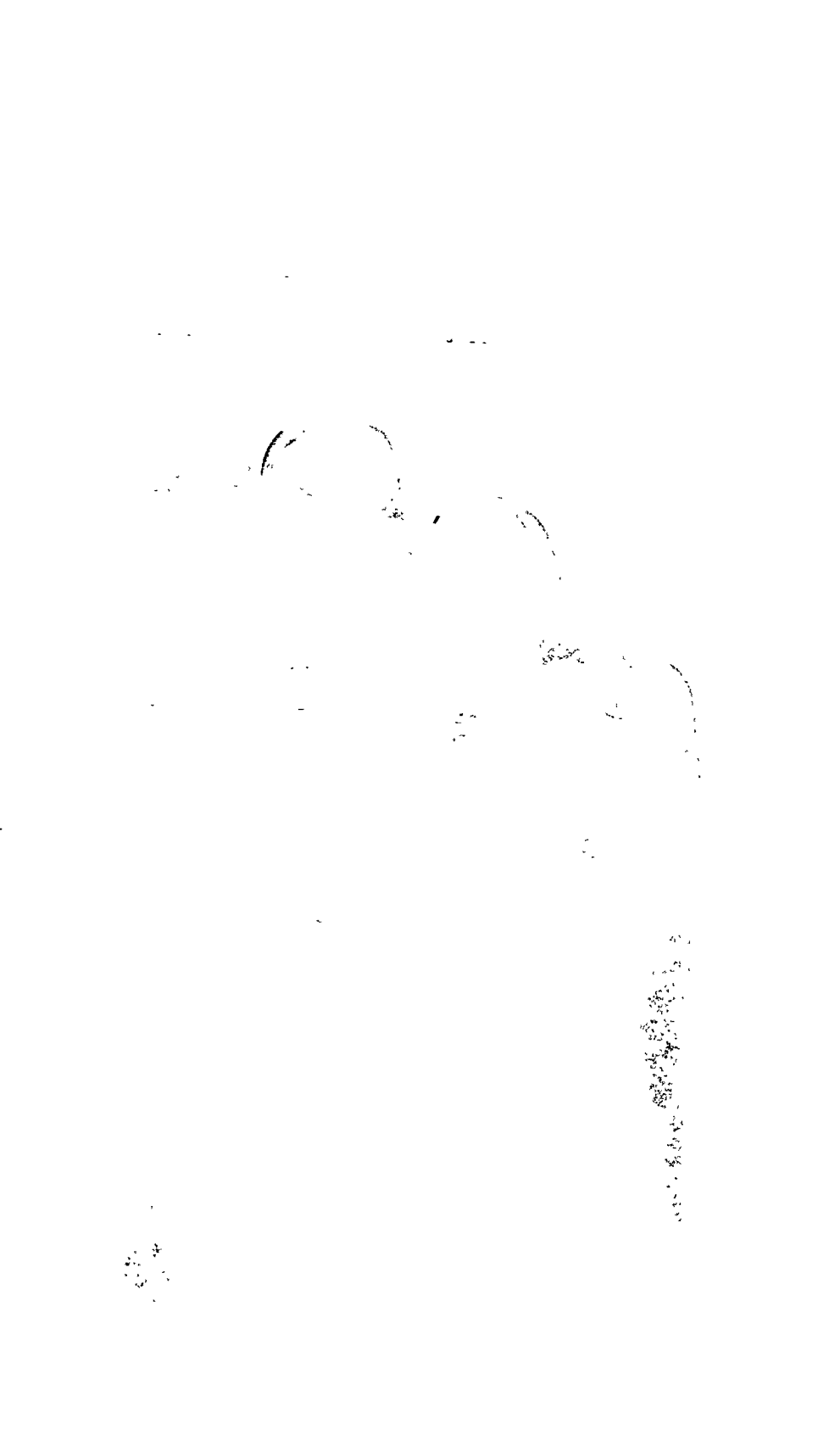
With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

FOREIGN POLICY

III. Relations with Other Countries



1. To D. S. Senanayake¹

New Delhi
22nd April, 1948

My dear Mr. Senanayake,

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your letter of March 16, 1948, in which you have made certain suggestions regarding the qualifications for Ceylon citizenship and the procedure to be adopted by Indian residents in Ceylon who wish to acquire such citizenship.²

We have carefully considered your suggestions and we feel that some of these suggestions would lead to certain difficulties and would be unfair to the people concerned. We have prepared a note on the subject which will be handed to you by our High Commissioner in Ceylon.

May I express my grateful thanks to you for the friendly and cooperative spirit with which you have approached these negotiations? I am as anxious as you are to reach a final settlement without further delay and I am confident that with so much goodwill on both sides it will be possible to reach such a settlement satisfactory to both parties.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 69-1/47-O.S. II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.; also available in J.N. Collection.
2. Under the provisions of the Ceylon Citizenship Act and the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, passed in 1948, Indian residents were entitled to obtain the citizenship of Ceylon by registration, subject to fulfilling these conditions: (a) specified minimum period of uninterrupted residence; (b) adequate means of livelihood; and (c) compliance with the laws and customs of the land. The procedure for obtaining citizenship was complicated, and the Ceylon Government had not accepted the suggestion to make it less rigorous. This had created bitterness among the Indian community in Ceylon.

2. To Lord Stansgate¹

New Delhi
3rd May 1948

My dear Lord Stansgate,²

Thank you for your letter of the 11th March, which was forwarded to me by our High Commissioner in London. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Wedgwood Benn, First Lord (1877-1960); joined Labour Party, 1927; Secretary of State for India, 1929-31; Vice-President, Allied Control Commission for Italy, 1943-44; President, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1947-57.

I think there will be no difficulty in our associating ourselves with the Inter-Parliamentary Union.³ I am consulting the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly in this matter. At the present moment our legislature is a provisional one, the constitution-making body also functioning as a legislature. After the new constitution has been finalised, elections will take place for the new legislature.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Inter-Parliamentary Union was formed in 1888 for promoting international arbitration and peace. The aims of the Union were : (a) to promote personal contacts between members of the various Parliaments; (b) to work for the development of democratic institutions and for peace and international cooperation; (c) to seek solution of international problems by parliamentary action; and (d) to suggest methods for the development of parliamentary institutions.

3. Jews in India¹

This is a hardy perennial. Twice or thrice we have extended the period of stay of these Jews in India on special representations. We might be justified in not extending the period again. But the circumstances are peculiar and it is obvious that Jews cannot go to Palestine at present, nor can they be sent to Afghanistan. In these circumstances the only course open appears to be to leave them here for another period. There appears to be no possibility of any harm to India. The number involved is not great and, so far as I know, they have given no trouble. I suggest, therefore, that these Jews be allowed to stay on in India for the present.

1. Note, 3 May 1948. File No. 10-1A/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. This note was written by Nehru after receiving Krishna Menon's cable that a deputation of British Jews had met him in London and stated that, in view of the existing situation, it was difficult for the refugee Jews to obtain visas for Palestine. They therefore urged that the Indian Government extend the stay of the refugees till the visas were issued to them.

4. Closer Ties with Japan¹

I recall with pleasure the age-old historical ties between India and Japan and we hope to cultivate closer cultural, economic and trade relations with your country. The economics of both countries should be complementary and I can assure you that India will, within the limits of our programme of economic and industrial development, assist as much as possible in sending raw materials to Japan.² I take this opportunity afforded by your visit to send my greetings and best wishes to the people of Japan.

1. Remarks at a meeting in New Delhi with the members of a trade mission from Japan, 7 May 1948. From *National Herald*, 8 May 1948.
2. India agreed to sell to Japan 14,000 tons of raw jute and 85,000 bales of raw cotton.

5. Cable to V. K. Krishna Menon¹

Your letter 4th May about your interview with Soviet Ambassador² has surprised me. We are anxious to develop trade relations with Soviet Union and are at present discussing deal in tea and wheat³ which we hope to push through. Perhaps some casual remark of Commerce Ministry might have led to misunderstanding. I am enquiring further into the matter.⁴ Meanwhile would like you to investigate possibilities of trade agreement.

1. New Delhi, 12 May 1948. File No. 44(3)/48-PMS.
2. George Nikoloevitch Zaroubin (1900-1968); Soviet Ambassador to Canada, 1944-46, Britain, 1947-52, and U.S.A., 1952-58; Deputy Foreign Minister, 1958-68.
3. The first Indo-Soviet food agreement was signed in July 1948 for the supply of 50,000 tons of wheat by Russia in exchange for 5000 tons of Indian tea.
4. The Commerce Ministry in its note of 16 May 1948 denied that the Government of India's response to Soviet overtures for improvement in trade with India had been cold or indifferent as alleged by Krishna Menon. The uneconomic prices quoted by Russia for the purchase of wheat were not acceptable. Nevertheless, negotiations for trade in other commodities continued.

6. Cable to Chiang Kai-shek¹

On behalf of the Government and the people of India and on my own behalf I have great pleasure in offering felicitations on Your Excellency's assumption of the office of President of the Chinese Republic.² Your election as President is the most appropriate tribute by the great Chinese nation to your invaluable services in steering the ship of state through many years of travail and suffering. The long ties of friendship and cultural association between China and India and, in more recent times, the friendship and sympathy shown by Your Excellency and the Chinese nation in India's struggle for freedom make your assumption of the exalted office of President of the Chinese Republic a special occasion for rejoicing by the people of India.

The Government and the people of India wish the Chinese people peace and prosperity under your distinguished leadership.

1. New Delhi, 15 May 1948. File No. 311-CA/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. On 19 April Chiang Kai-shek was re-elected President of the National Assembly by 2,430 votes as against 269 votes received by Chu Chang, President of the Judicial Yuan. He was sworn in on 20 May 1948.

7. Greetings to Afghanistan¹

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Afghan Independence Day, I have great pleasure in conveying to you and, through you, to the Royal Afghan Government, the greetings of the Government and people of India.

The progress and prosperity of your country are, and always have been, the object of our sincere and earnest solicitude. With the establishment of direct diplomatic relations, India looks forward to even closer and more fruitful cooperation with her friend and neighbour, Afghanistan, in all matters of common interest.

1. Message to the Afghan ambassador printed in *National Herald*, 23 May 1948.

8. Cable to D. S. Senanayake¹

2. I thank you for your letter of May 26th² which I could not answer earlier as I wished to study carefully the decisions of your Cabinet on the qualifications and procedure for the acquisition of Ceylon citizenship by Indians resident in Ceylon. I note that the decisions have been embodied in the Bill which, I understand, is to be introduced in your Parliament soon after 15th June.

3. Our point of view has been placed before you and the Ceylon Government so often that I shall not endeavour to repeat it in detail in this telegram. Our comments on the various clauses of the Bill are being sent by fast air mail. You will recall that, both during our discussions in Delhi, and in the subsequent correspondence, we made certain suggestions under the following heads:

- (i) period of residence qualifying for citizenship;
- (ii) date from which period should be calculated;
- (iii) definition of destitute;
- (iv) compliance with laws and customs of the country; and
- (v) procedure for dealing with applications for citizenship.

Though you made it clear that you would have to consult your colleagues, I had hoped that you would be able to persuade them to accept our suggestions. I find, however, that with regard to none of the five matters mentioned above does the Bill conform to our suggestions.

4. We thought and still think that our proposals constitute a fair basis for a settlement between the two Governments, and I still hope that you will find it possible to accept them. Indeed, in the interests of good relations between India and Ceylon, I would strongly urge that this be done. Nothing would distress me more than that free India and free Ceylon should continue to be divided on this fundamental issue. I should, however, be failing in my duty if I were not to make it clear that the provisions of the Bill which you have sent me will not be acceptable to Indian opinion or to Indians in Ceylon.³

1. New Delhi, 9 June 1948. File No. 69-1/47-O.S. II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Senanayake wrote that he and his Cabinet colleagues, actuated by a genuine desire to reach a settlement satisfactory to both parties, "have gone as far as we possibly can to make concessions to the Indian residents in Ceylon, almost to the point of being unfair to the permanent population of the Island."
3. The Sri Lanka Government's reluctance to amend the Bill led to the release, on 26 November, of the correspondence between the two Governments. The Bill was, however, passed on 21 January 1949.

9. To William Benton¹

New Delhi
9 June 1948

My dear Mr. Benton,

Thank you for your letter of June 3rd which has just reached me. I have not yet received the report of your Delegation to Secretary Marshall which you have sent. I am sure I shall be interested in it.

I remember well our meeting in Allahabad eleven years ago. Subsequently you were good enough to arrange for some American periodicals to come to me regularly, and they were greatly appreciated by me.

I hope that we may meet again in the future. I have been looking forward to visiting the United States for a long time but the pace of events and happenings have prevented me from leaving India. But I certainly must visit America some day and I hope that day will not be far distant.²

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Nehru visited America from 10 October to 7 November 1949.

10. To Daniel Levi¹

New Delhi
15 June 1948

Dear Mr. Levi,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 15 June 1948 detailing the practical arrangements to be made in connection with the Agreement² signed on the June 15th 1948 between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of India relating to money and property situated in the territories named in the Schedule to the Agreement and belonging to persons who are and have been resident or carrying on business in the said territories and which have been subjected to special measures during the war of 1939-46 and to state on behalf of the Government of India that the arrangements specified in the aforesaid letter are accepted by me.

1. File No. 2(35)-BC(IC)/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.

2. Following negotiations for six months between the Governments of India and France, it was announced in June 1948 : "The French Government formally declares that it proposes to leave to the people of French Indian territories the right to declare their verdict on their destiny and their future status."

It is further agreed that your letter and this reply shall have a binding effect.

I avail myself of the opportunity to convey to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Frances Gunther¹

New Delhi
26 June 1948

My dear Frances,

I received your letter of May 17th some time back. I was happy to receive it for it is always a pleasure to have news of you or from you.

I have read your letter naturally with attention and interest and there is much in it with which I agree.

I do not think that in the past our attitude in regard to Palestine has been one of pure expediency, though undoubtedly we cannot ignore that aspect. I think it was a realistic attitude.² It was ultimately based on one state with full autonomy over certain regions. Given a period of peace further developments might have taken place later. You will remember that attitude was opposed and criticised by the Arabs.³

In any event past policies and attitudes hardly count in a changing situation and we have to take facts as they are today.⁴ There is no doubt that in India there has been in the past a very strong feeling in favour of the Arabs in Palestine. This was not confined to the Muslims but extended to others also. The basis of that feeling was a certain Asian sentiment plus the belief

1. J.N. Collection.

2. As a member of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine India did not subscribe to the majority plan recommending partition of Palestine. Instead, it put forward the proposal to create an independent federal state of Palestine comprising autonomous Arab and Jewish units. In a separate note, Abdul Rahman, the Indian member of the Committee, pleaded that partition would not lead to a lasting solution and argued that the two states sought to be created would not be politically viable. But ultimately the General Assembly endorsed the majority plan and Palestine was partitioned.

3. The principal Arab countries, including Egypt, did not see the merit of a confederation of Arab and Jewish units in Palestine as proposed by India and they rejected the idea.

4. The state of Israel was created on 14 May 1948. It was followed by the outbreak of Arab-Israeli hostilities in the course of which the Israelis seized 77 per cent of the Palestinian territory (as against 55 per cent allocated by the U.N. resolution) and expelled about 800,000 Palestinians from their ancestral homes.

that the Jews were being used and exploited by British imperialism. It is also true that this feeling has undergone a considerable change recently. Nevertheless, it is hardly possible for our Government suddenly to change its policy completely and if we go against the statements we have made in the past we will be bitterly criticised as sheer opportunists without any principle and some of our existing problems in India would become even more difficult of solution. To recognise any new state suddenly is rather odd for any government; they wait normally for some kind of stabilisation, some permanence and then they recognise that state. At the present moment recognition of the Jewish state is merely a gesture though it is a powerful gesture.

If you could follow Indian opinion now you will find a gradual and marked change going on, for obvious reasons, in favour of the general Jewish attitude in Palestine. It has not gone very far yet but the trends are obvious. So far as our Government is concerned, we have deliberately kept quiet over this issue. Our silence itself has a meaning and that is why we are not going out of our way to criticise the Jews in Palestine as we might well have done according to our older policy.

You talk of expediency. I am quite sure that our recognition⁵ of the Jewish state now could only be explained in terms not only of pure expediency but also of a desire to hit at everything Muslim without helping anyone much. It would injure us and our *bona fides*.

I entirely agree with you and your analysis of the old reactionary Muslim policy and the new trends in Islam which should be encouraged. But I imagine that what you suggest would probably suppress these new trends and drive them into reactionary folds.

I am afraid my answer will not give you much satisfaction. Nevertheless, I am quite clear that our present policy is the only right one and not merely expedient. Please appreciate that after all our past history in regard to this question of Palestine, our present silence is itself very significant.

With love and all good wishes,

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. India accepted the state of Israel but could not accept the Zionist basis of its creation, which had clear religious connotations, nor did India support Israel's attempts to acquire territories.

13

MISCELLANEOUS

1. General

1. The Founding of Bhubaneswar¹

It is my pleasure, my privilege and my pride today, the 13th April 1948, to declare that the foundation stone of this capital town of Bhubaneswar has now been well and truly laid under these favourable auspices supported with the goodwill of each of you assembled here at this morning gathering. *Jai Hind.*

1. Autograph message of Nehru buried under the foundation of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial site at Bhubaneswar, the new capital of Orissa. From *Hindustan Standard*, 14 April 1948.

2. Bhubaneswar¹

I feel a sense of relief at being away from Delhi which in these days is a city of conflicts and troubles in contrast to Orissa which is peaceful.

Unlike New Delhi which was meant to impress people with the might of an empire and which has no real contact with the common people, this new capital's plan has been such as to maintain contact with the masses and in the new capital the first thought has been given to children—how they should live and receive education—to women workers and labourers.² The new capital will not be a city of big buildings for officers and rich men without relation to the common masses. It will accord with our idea of reducing differences between the rich and the poor.

I hope that people of this province will remain in peace despite differences of religion and caste and that the new capital will blossom into a city where the common people will enjoy a real life.

I have come to Orissa to inaugurate the Hirakud Dam. When the project is fully executed, it will change the whole picture of the province of Orissa. It is to me a symbol not only of a new Orissa but also of a new India in the constructive field. The laying of the foundation stone of this new city has been a task after my heart. Construction is always welcome. To build a city

1. Speech at the ceremony of laying the foundation of the new capital of Orissa at Bhubaneswar, 13 April 1948. From *Hindustan Standard*, 14 April 1948.

2. There was to be one bare school for children within a half-mile radius of their residence and a shopping centre for housewives within the radius of one mile.

is something happy to think of. To create a new town is itself a happy thing. There cannot be a greater joy than to create. It is almost godlike to create. To be associated, therefore, with the construction of a city has been a thing which I appreciate the most.

The construction of the capital is not one of putting up buildings here and there. In the construction we should think of the type of life we want to provide to the community. We have to think of the many aspects of the life of the city. Anything that we build should be of beauty but it should not be costly. In New Delhi there are expensive and costly buildings, but they are not beautiful. In India we lost our ancient art during foreign domination. Unfortunately most of the people, especially artisans, lost their sense of art and designs.

We have much of art in Orissa and the designs with colours painted on houses in Orissa are some of the finest in India. The sense of beauty has an important role to play on the minds of the young generation. So the new city should be a place of beauty, developing ideas of beauty and everything that should be good so that life might become an adjunct to beauty.

3. To Hiralal Shastri¹

New Delhi
1 May 1948

My dear Hiralalji,

I am giving this letter to Babulal Goel. I feel I owe a duty to him as unfortunately and without my knowledge he was arrested and kept in prison for over a month because on one occasion he tried to stop my car.

His home is in Mhow, C.I.² He has had practically no schooling and has grown rather erratic. I think however that some training and education will improve him greatly. I think also that there is some good stuff in him. He does not want to go back to Mhow and I do not want him to remain in Delhi. I am therefore taking the liberty of sending him to you. I shall be grateful if you could have some arrangements made at some school for his education. He knows just a little Hindi but cannot even write it. I shall be responsible for his expenses for schooling etc. and if you let me know I shall send you a cheque.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Central India.

4. Urs of Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti¹

It is a matter of satisfaction to the Government of India and myself that the famous *Urs* of Dargah Khwaja Sahib is being celebrated in Ajmer as usual.² I would have greatly liked to be present at the *Urs* myself but my preoccupations here prevent me from doing so. I send my greetings and good wishes to the pilgrims gathered for the *Urs* and trust that the celebrations will be successful in every way. It is the particular desire of the Government of India to give every protection to the famous Dargah Khwaja Sahib and to maintain its traditions and custom.

1. Message sent to the managing committee of the tomb located at Ajmer in Rajasthan, 9 May 1948. File No. 28(13)/48-PMS.
2. The death anniversary of Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chisti (c.A.D. 1135-1229), a Muslim saint of the Chishtiya order of the Sufi mystics, was observed.

5. Humour and Criticism¹

There is much need for an element of laughter and humour which will tone up our public and social life. Humour and laughter relieves tension and makes us look at things, and sometimes at ourselves, in proper perspective.

I am something of a journalist. Had I not sat on the chair of state and carried on political activities, my alternative profession would have been that of writing, a profession that is most agreeable to me. Being a partial journalist myself I cannot think of journalists apart from myself. If I might criticise them I would say there is not enough of good-natured criticism in them. There should be criticism as otherwise they lose all their flavour. Now there seems to be no criticism at all or else there is criticism which lacks goodwill and good nature which does not carry one far.

There should be pretty effective criticism and not a malicious one. I wish the new journal every success.

1. Speech on the eve of the publication of the first issue of *Shankar's Weekly*, brought out by K. Shankar Pillai, New Delhi, 21 May 1948. *National Herald*, 22 May 1948.

6. To K. N. Katju¹

New Delhi
22 May 1948

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 19th.² The nature of the sculpture of the temple would not have kept me away from it but I fear it is very difficult for me to fit in a visit to Konark on my way back from Ooty. We shall talk about this more when you come.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(74)/48-PMS.

2. Katju referred to the erotic images in the Sun temple in Konark and suggested that Lady Mountbatten's visit be called off to avert an "embarrassing situation", or else Nehru should accompany her.

7. Trial of N. V. Godse¹

The report of the proceedings of the Godse trial which began today reveals an extraordinary state of affairs which is not creditable to those who were in charge of the arrangements,² nor is it creditable from the security point of view. Even in an ordinary case a certain dignity is maintained. Much more so must this be the case in a case which attracts foreign correspondents and others. I should like to know who was responsible for these arrangements generally and more specially the security arrangements. He should come and see me on my return from Gwalior.³

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 27 May 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. It took nearly four months since the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi to complete the preparations for the trial of Godse and eight others charged with conspiracy to murder. The trial started on 27 May 1948 at the Red Fort in Delhi. Elaborate precautions for the safety of the accused had been taken and cells had been specially built for them inside the Red Fort. More than 200 witnesses were called and the accused were tried by Atma Charan, a sessions judge.

3. Nehru visited Gwalior on 28 May.

8. Passports and Visas¹

This matter raises two questions:²

1. The general approach to the question of issue of passports and visas and (2) the particular case of Mr.³ and Mrs.⁴ A.K. Shaha.

2. As regards the general approach, passports and visas should be issued unless there are special reasons to the contrary. A general feeling that a person is not good enough or is liable to express anti-governmental views is not enough to refuse a passport. Rules should be interpreted liberally. There are many channels for mischief to be done and we are not able to close them. Strict rules only succeed in harassing *bona fide* people as a rule. Our reputation abroad is likely to be injured more by the story that we refuse passports and visas than by some odd individual getting through.

3. As for the particular individuals concerned, I have known them for nearly ten years in connection with national planning and numerous attempts by Mr. Shaha to get service. He is an engineer and has little political sense or knowledge. In fact he is rather stupid and I cannot imagine his doing much against India even if he wanted to, which I rather doubt, as he looks forward to service in India. He is not a communist and his admiration for Russia is largely because of its industrial achievements.

4. His wife is a Russian and it is a justified plea for her to want to see her aged parents. No one can guarantee what they might or might not do. But it is impossible that they can do much which might react against India.

1. Note, 28 May 1948. File No. 12(8)-P VI/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

2. The applications of A.K. Shaha and his wife for passports to visit the Soviet Union had been rejected on grounds of Shaha's pro-Russian views. It was feared that he would indulge in anti-Indian propaganda abroad. Shaha had appealed to Nehru for intervention.

3. Akshaya Kumar Shaha, a combustion engineer and fuel technologist who was associated with the First and Second Five Year Plans in the Soviet Union from 1926 to 1937; returned to India in February 1938 and came in contact with Subhas Chandra Bose who included him in the National Planning Committee formed in October 1938.

4. Tatiana Shaha-Sedina.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In any event it seems to me undesirable for passports to be refused on vague general grounds as stated. I advise therefore that passports be issued to Dr. and Mrs. A.K. Shaha.¹

5. Following the views of the Indian Embassy in Moscow "to restrict passport facilities to persons about whose activities in this country there can be no doubt", it was decided not to issue passports to the Shahas.

9. To O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar¹

New Delhi
29 May 1948

My dear Mr. Reddiar,

Your letter of May 27th about Haji Abdul Sattar Issac Sait.² It is undoubtedly undesirable for citizens of one Dominion suddenly to transfer their activities and allegiance to the other. But numerous cases like this have happened on both sides chiefly because nationality has not been fully determined yet on either side. It is not a question of a foreign state employing our nationals but of persons with a vague and undefined nationality finally choosing either Pakistan or India. We may disapprove of what Mr. Issac Sait has done, but there is nothing in law or otherwise to object to it. Your suggestion therefore cannot be accepted. Mr. Issac Sait, by virtue of his appointment as a Pakistan Ambassador, has ceased to be an Indian national even though members of his family may so continue.

I might draw your attention to a reverse case: that of Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy who was leader of the opposition in the Pakistan Assembly and then suddenly became a minister in the West Bengal Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. -

2. Issac Sait was a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly from Madras, and he became Pakistan's Ambassador in Egypt in July 1948. -

10. To K. M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
10 June 1948

My dear Panikkar,

I have your letter of the 6th May about an Institute of Himalayan Research. The idea appeals to me greatly, though I am by no means sure that we could do much in this matter at this stage. We are rather overwhelmed by other problems. Nevertheless it would be a good thing if we had some scheme to consider. You might ask the Swedish Ambassador² to get in touch with Sven Hedin's³ School of Mountain Exploration and the Royal Academy of Sweden and request them to give us some idea of what we should do in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. C.A.M. Hallenborg was Swedish Consul-General in India.
3. Sven Anders Hedin (1865-1952); Swedish geographer and explorer; travelled extensively in Asia; visited India, 1905-08; author of several books including *Through Asia* (1898), *From Pole to Pole* (1911), *Jerusalem* (1917) and *The Silk Road* (1936).

11. To Proprietor of the International Language Club,
East Croydon¹

New Delhi
30 June 1948

Dear Mr. Driscoll,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th June. I am sorry I am quite unable to send you an article. Also I am not quite sure if it will be appropriate for me to write in an issue of your magazine which apparently gives prominence to me. However, I am giving below a brief message.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Following item.

12. Message to International Language Club¹

I send my greetings to the Indian and other students living in the International Language Club. All of us, in whatever country we may live, are passing through very difficult and critical times. The burden of this at present falls largely on the older generation. But that generation will soon pass away and the students of today will have to shoulder this burden of shaping a new world. That new world will never come into being unless the youth of today train themselves for it and work in a crusading spirit for the realisation of the ideals and objectives they cherish. That new world will also not take shape if we continue to think and act in terms of hatred and violence against countries and peoples that are not our own.

I firmly believe that we can build only on the basis of freedom and equal opportunity for all countries and peoples and individuals. I am convinced that the way of approach to political problems that Mahatma Gandhi showed us is the right way.

1. 30 June 1948. J.N. Collection.

MISCELLANEOUS

II. Personal

1. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
17 April 1948

My dear Radhakrishnan,

I have just seen your letter of the 16th. Tomorrow morning I am going to Udaipur for the day. I fear therefore that I shall not be able to meet you.

About my contribution for the Gandhi volume,² I really do not know how to sit down and write something fresh. A week or two after Gandhiji's death I made various references to him and wrote something also. I just cannot develop the mood for writing in cold blood. I am afraid I am temperamental as a writer and when the subject is Gandhi my hesitation is all the greater.

My American publishers have decided to bring out a book containing extracts from my previous books as well as my recent utterances about Gandhi.³ I have been unable to write anything special for them and they have been content with the bits that they picked up here and there. If what I said about Gandhiji after his death on two or three occasions is of any use to you, this may be used by you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Radhakrishnan brought out in 1949 an enlarged edition of *Mahatma Gandhi—Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London) first published in 1938. Nehru's article, "The Perfect Artist", and his broadcast on the death of Mahatma Gandhi made on 30 January 1948 were included in this book. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, pp. 35-36 and 48-49 respectively for the two items.
3. *Nehru on Gandhi* (John Day Company, New York); this book first brought out in 1941 contained what Nehru had said about Mahatma Gandhi. In its fifth edition printed in 1948 the book also included an article and four speeches made by Nehru on Mahatma Gandhi between 30 January and 14 February 1948. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, pp. 35-88 for these speeches.

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
5 May 1948

Dear Nan,

This is just to acknowledge your two letters dated 22nd and 26th April which came today. Also please tell Lekha and Tara that I have received their letters of 19th and 20th April.

1. J.N. Collection.

Things are pretty bad here, as you rightly say, though perhaps they are not so bad as the Russian press² might make out. But the point is that there is a definite reactionary trend and the Communists by their definitely hostile and violent attitude have helped it greatly. So have the Socialists by their quite astonishing folly. Whatever the reasons the fact remains that we are looking in the wrong direction. Of course our major problem continues to be some form of communalism and the narrow communal outlook that has affected large numbers of Hindus. We have by no means killed the spirit of the Hindu Mahasabha or the R.S.S. But I will not write to you more about this now.

About Gautam,³ I have nothing more to say than what I have already written to you. The one thing that seems to me very wrong is the general behaviour of the family to which you have yourself referred. Of course I shall see anyone from the family who wants to see me.

You will be interested to know that I have more or less taken charge of a whole family consisting of six children, boys and girls from 14 downwards, plus the mother of five of them. I rescued them from Kurukshetra Camp and they have been with me for the last month or so. I am thinking of sending the children to some school in Naini Tal. The mother⁴ is the widow of the District Magistrate⁵ of Muzaffarabad in Kashmir. Her husband was shot and killed by the raiders on the first day, that is, late in October. She and her children had a bad time and spent five months in Muzaffarabad with those raiders. They all came near death many times, but she proved equal to the occasion and by sheer strength of character rather cowed down the uncouth Pathans. She is a very quiet woman of about 35 with a fine face which attracts attention by its clear-cut features and a peculiar mixture of gentleness and firmness. I was struck by her the moment I saw her in Kurukshetra, although I had heard about her previously. She belongs to an old family of Kishtwar. Her great grandfather was rather a well-known Governor of Ladakh.⁶ She is not a Pandit. Her name is Krishna Mehta (Mehta being her husband's name, I suppose). After I have arranged for her children's education, she will go back to Kashmir to do some work there.

I am afraid I am terribly flat and stale, fairly good in physical health, but with a mind which has lost its freshness. I am having a few days off.

2. The Soviet press had linked Nehru's invitation from Truman with the arrests of Communists in India.
3. Gautam Sahgal (b. 1923), a business executive; married to Nayantara Sahgal, January 1949 to 1967.
4. Krishna Mehta (b. 1913); engaged in the rehabilitation of refugee women and children in Jammu and Kashmir; member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62; author of *Chaos in Kashmir* (1954), an account of the atrocities she witnessed as a prisoner of the Pakistan tribesmen.
5. Dunichand Mehta (1903-1947).
6. Mangal Singh.

On the 9th May I am going to Kashmir for two days for independence celebrations. On the 13th I shall go with the Mountbattens to Mashobra for four days. That will be some rest. A little later I expect to go for two days to Mussoorie to see Sardar Patel. At the end of the month I go to Ooty for three days or so to inaugurate the Far East and India Commission of the Social and Economic Council of the U.N.

The Mountbattens will be leaving about the 21st June and Rajaji is coming as Governor General.

Your parcel of toys and the Scotch tape have reached here.

I find from the newspapers that Amar Nath⁷ managed to reach Moscow for May Day. I hope he behaved.

Yours,
Jawahar

7. Amar Nath Atal (1892-1957); Dewan of Jaipur State, 1916-22, and in turn Prime Minister and member in charge of various portfolios, 1923-49; Financial Adviser to the former Maharaja of Jaipur, 1949-57.

4. To Rajan Nehru¹

New Delhi
5th May, 1948

My dear Rajan,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th April. I have also received your previous letters. You must forgive me for the delay in acknowledging them but I find it very difficult to write personal letters which normally require some leisure.

I am glad you are interesting yourself in various activities. I feel, however, that you should keep rather clear of anything which might be termed political. This is a tricky business specially in America and specially because you are connected with the Embassy. In regard to social and such like matters, of course, you should develop contacts.

I think photographs of Bapuji are being sent to all the Embassies and you will get one soon.

I have received Clair Luce's letter. You can give her this information. I shall try to answer her some time or other but this will not be very soon. I have also received the papers you sent me from Louis Fischer.

Delhi is pretty hot now. I don't mind this heat but the problems we have to-face are much more overwhelming.

Love.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. To Indira Gandhi¹

New Delhi
7 June 1948

Darling Indira,

I received your letter of May 24 or thereabouts today. This was the letter you gave to Krishna Menon and he carried it to London and then sent it back.

Mathai tells me that you are likely to come here on the 13th or 14th. Suit yourself. It does not matter very much on which day you come. So far as our official or private parties are concerned for the Mountbattens I think they are all crowded into the last 3 or 4 days, i.e., 17th onwards. De Valera will be here from the 13th evening to the 15th morning.

My programme is as follows :

11th June—Go to Naini Tal with Edwina Mountbatten who wants to say goodbye to Sarojini.

12th June—Visit Sardar Patel at Dehra Dun.

13th June onwards in Delhi.

You will remember that I asked you to get a silver bangle with Kashmiri emblems for Pamela. If you can find this, please bring it with you.

It has now been formally decided that I should move into the Commander-in-Chief's house. It will take some time to clean it up. The process should begin soon. After that we have to decide about allocation of rooms etc. For that your presence is necessary. Indeed I should like you to be here when we move in. We can fix that up when you come.

At Dickie Mountbatten's suggestion, a scheme is being evolved to connect the household management of the Prime Minister's residence with that of Government House. That is to say that some kind of a controller of the household will function there officially. This seems rather a pompous way of doing things, but I suppose it will be the proper thing. It will be impossible to run that house in a casual way as we normally do our smaller houses. All kinds of questions have been asked of me and I have been unable to answer them. For instance, I was asked as to who should be the Deputy Controller of the Household, the Chief Controller being in charge of Government House. I said that I knew nothing about this business and they might consult you when you come here. Thus far Government House have had a big staff for hospitality and other purposes. This pertained to the Governor General. The idea now is that there should be Government Hospitality Committee presided by a senior competent man, who would look after not only Government House and P.M.'s residence but also any other official or semi-official entertainments by ministers. This is the practice in England.

We are doing our best to fix up proper publicity arrangements in Kash-

1. J.N. Collection.

mir, including a transmitter station. Gopalaswami Ayyangar intends going to Jammu on the 10th and Srinagar probably a day later. I have requested Sheikh Abdullah to come back with him for consultation. You might inform Sheikh Abdullah of my programme as given above.

Love,

Papu

5. To Grace S. Yaukey¹

New Delhi

10 June 1948

Dear Grace Yaukey,²

Prof. Gyan Chand has given me the little book³ which you sent with him and I have also received your letter of May 18. I am very grateful to you for the book and the letter. You will appreciate that it is a little difficult for me to sit in judgement about something said about me. Thus far I have only been able to glance through the book. But I hope to read more of it as soon as I have the time. But time is a scarce commodity at present and probably in the near future.

I feel flattered by all that is said of me. At the same time this brings an additional sense of responsibility which is somewhat of a burden. In any event, it is heartening to know that there are friends in distant places who think generously of one's work.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1899); sister of Pearl S. Buck; author of several novels under pseudonym Cornelia Spencer.

3. *Nehru of India* (John Day Company, New York, 1948) is a biography of Nehru in which the author explains India's history along with the facts of Nehru's life.

6. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
21 June 1948

My dear Dickie,

We have had rather a dull day today after the excitement of your departure and Rajaji's swearing-in ceremony. The last few weeks have been so full and many of us have lived rather abnormal lives that the change is sudden and mentally disturbing. I have felt slack all day and not able to concentrate much on any work, although there is plenty of work.

This evening I found waiting for me at home a number of packets from Government House and a number of letters. I was a little surprised as you were then flying further and further away from India. In opening the packets I found a beautiful silver box with your inscription and two photographs of you and Edwina. I was delighted to receive these and I am grateful for this parting gift.

I have received copies of the long memorandum² you have sent to Rajaji and have read it with great interest. I am glad you wrote it. It will help us to remember many of the things that we have to do. I shall consult Rajaji tomorrow about sending a copy of it to some other members of the Cabinet.

Your letter of the 20th June, written probably late at night or very early in the morning, is a charming parting message. It is really curious to think how an odd meeting at Singapore should have led to far-reaching consequences. And yet I suppose this is the way of life which, in spite of all our so-called wisdom, remains as mysterious and tantalising as ever. Anyway it was a fortunate chance that took me to Singapore and which led to these results. If that chance led us to know each other well, I am quite sure that it will lead to further meetings and more intimate contacts. I shall look forward to them as I am already looking forward to a visit to Broadlands. For the present this seems rather far off. For I have got accustomed to thinking in terms of days and hours and months seem an age. Apart from the Dominion Premiers' Conference, there is some chance of my going at the time of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. That will fit in with the conference. For entirely personal reasons I have a strong urge to go out of India for a while and see the Indian scene from some distance and perspective. I do feel, and I know you agree with me, that I have grown very stale and a visit abroad will freshen me. And yet I confess that the situation in India is full of disconcerting possibilities. I came to the conclusion

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mountbatten drafted a memorandum which he sent to Nehru, Patel and Rajagopalachari on 19 June 1948. It contained recommendations for the efficient working of the Government.

long ago that no man is indispensable or ought to be indispensable, and even if a person is to some extent indispensable, it is good for him to drop out of the scene for a while. But invisible chains are far stronger than visible ones and they hold one in bondage. Nevertheless, the urge to go abroad and to meet the Mountbatten family again is strong and I think even the invisible chains will yield to it.

I shall remember what you have written about V.P. Menon. I quite agree with you that he has done a fine job of work and deserves adequate reward for it. There is one difficulty however so far as Madras is concerned. V.P. is himself a product of Madras and we have made it almost a rule not to appoint a person to his own province.

Ever yours,
Jawahar

GLOSSARY

Anjuman	association
Bhoodan	donation of land
Dargah	tomb of a Muslim saint
Fakir	Muslim ascetic
Firman	royal edict
Gumbaz	dome
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Jagir	rent-free land granted by the government as a reward
Jagirdar	holder of a jagir
Kshatriya	the second, the warrior, caste among the Hindus
Khwaja	Muslim mystic
Mehndi	henna
Mujahid	Muslim crusader
Panchayati Raj	rule by village committee
Rabi	spring harvest
Sampattidan	donation of property
Senapati	commander-in-chief
Sherwani	long coat
Tamasha	amusement
Urs	death anniversary of a Muslim saint
Zamindar	landowner

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